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26 June 1985

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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26 June 1985

**EAST EUROPE REPORT  
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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

CEAUSESCU CABLES ROMANIAN LEADER--To Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and president of the GDR State Council: On leaving the GDR I want to express once again thanks for the comradely reception and the hospitality we enjoyed throughout the visit to your country. I am convinced that, in the spirit of the talks we conducted these days and of the understandings we have reached on this occasion, the positive relations of friendship and cooperation between the SR of Romania and the GDR, between the RCP and the SED will develop--through joint efforts--even further at various levels in the interest and for the benefit of the peoples of our countries and the general cause of socialism, cooperation, and peace throughout the world. I want to take this opportunity to add to our farewell, cordial wishes for good health and personal happiness to you, as well as wishes for progress and prosperity to the friendly GDR people. Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 31 May 85 p 2]

CEAUSESCU CABLES CZECHOSLOVAKIAN LEADER--To Comrade Gustav Husak, CPCZ general secretary and president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Prague: Flying over the territory of your country, I take pleasure in conveying to you warm comradely greetings and best wishes for health and personal happiness, and to the friendly Czechoslovak people I wish new successes in the socialist construction and in the socioeconomic development of their homeland. I take this opportunity to express my belief that the Romanian-Czechoslovak relations of friendship and cooperation will further develop in all fields of activity, in the interest and for the well-being of our peoples, the general cause of socialism, cooperation, security, and peace in Europe and throughout the world. Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 29 May 85 p 6]

CEAUSESCU CABLES HUNGARIAN LEADERS--To Comrade Janos Kadar, MSZMP general secretary, and to comrade Pai Losonczi, chairman of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, Budapest: Flying over the territory of the Hungarian People's Republic, I take pleasure in conveying to you warm greetings and best wishes for health and happiness, and for new successes to the Hungarian people in the socioeconomic development of the country and in building the socialist society on the soil of neighboring and friendly Hungary. I express my belief that through joint efforts, the relations of friendship and cooperation between our countries and parties will further develop in the interest of our peoples and the general cause of socialism,

of understanding, cooperation, and peace throughout the world. Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 29 May 85 p 6]

DAVID, ZIEBA SIGN PROTOCOL--Warsaw AGERPRES 24 May 1985--Romanian Minister of Agriculture and Food Industry, Gheorgha David, had talks in Warsaw with Stanislaw Zieba, minister of agriculture and food economy of the Polish People's Republic, and they covenanted on the occasion the domains of collaboration in 1985. A protocol on collaboration between the two ministries in 1985 and 1986-1990 was also signed. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1727 GMT 24 May 85]

CSO: 2700/165

ALBANIA

SOVIETS REVIEW COUNTRY'S ROLE IN WWII

PM031400 Moscow TRUD in Russian 2 May 85 p 3

[Article by G. Mitkevich, member of the Soviet-Albanian friendship society board: "The communists were in front"]

[Text] The Albanian patriots marked 1 May 1942--the day of working people's international solidarity--with acts of sabotage and mass demonstrations against the occupiers. That was the first time since the country's occupation by fascist Italy in April 1939 that these demonstrations were not a spontaneous expression of protest against the occupiers, but were organized at the appeal of the Communist Party of Albania [CPA]. Founded in November 1941, the CPA headed the national liberation movement in the country.

Under its leadership, the Albanian patriots started switching from uncoordinated actions to organized struggle against the invaders. A 5,000-strong antifascist demonstration was held in Elbasan in January 1942. A similar demonstration was organized by communists in Shkoder in February. The fascist Carabineiri opened fire on the demonstrators, killing and wounding several of them. The people's resistance against the fascist occupiers mounted.

The first conference of the CPA aktiv in April 1942 approved a central committee directive on the beginning of armed struggle against the fascist invaders and the organization of partisan detachments everywhere. The conference emphasized as one of the most important political tasks the need to further propagandize among the population the Soviet Union's struggle against the Hitlerite aggressors, noting that this struggle "is a reliable guarantee of Albania's liberation from the fascist yoke."

The communists marched in the front ranks of fighters against fascism, setting examples of staunchness and bravery. Qemal Stafa, member of the CPA central committee and leader of the Albanian communist youth union, died heroically in Tirana 5 May 1942, during a skirmish with fascist gendarmes. Communists Perlat Rehepi, Branko Kadija, and Jordan Misja died 22 June in Shkoder, during street fighting with Italian Carabinieri. Myzafer Askeriu, posted by the CPA central committee to

organize partisan detachments, fell bravely 12 July in the same year in a battle against the fascists in the village of Gorizza, Dropull district. The communists' example inspired the patriots to step up their struggle against the occupiers.

Partisan detachments were formed in Albania in the summer of 1942 in Tirana, Gjirokaster, Korce, and Vlore districts. Entire zones in the Peza, Kurvelesh, Tomorice, and Skrapar regions were cleared of fascist occupiers. The first major operation by Albanian partisans on a countrywide scale occurred 24 July 1942, on orders from the CPA central committee: telegraph and telephone communications lines were destroyed throughout Albania on that day. The patriots set fire to the Tirana telephone exchange and attacked the capital's airfield. In Shkoder the partisans carried out a daring raid on the prison, liberating political prisoners. Sabotage acts were also carried out in Korce, Gjirokaster, Berat, and other cities. The Italian forces command in Greece, perturbed by these events, reported to headquarters that "the alarming situation in Albania threatens our forces in Greece and we do not feel our rear is safe."

The Albanian national liberation front, uniting within its ranks broad strata of the Albanian people, was formed on the CPA's initiative in September 1942, at a conference in Peza. The CPA became the front's tested leader. As a result of the communists' active work among the population, by the end of that year the country already had 24 partisan detachments.

The Soviet Union resolutely supported the Albanian people's national liberation struggle. In December 1942 the Soviet government issued a special declaration "on Albanian independence," which acclaimed the Albanian patriots' courageous struggle and emphasized that "it does not recognize any of Italian imperialism's claims to Albanian territory and wishes to see Albania liberated from the yoke of the fascist invaders, its independence restored."

The Soviet army's successes boosted the combat morale of the Albanian patriots and reinforced their faith in speedy victory. Increasing numbers of new fighters joined the partisans' ranks. The general staff of the Albanian National Liberation Army was formed 10 July 1943 for better leadership of the patriots' combat operations, and the formation of regular army units began.

Hitlerite troops invaded Albania in September 1943, following fascist Italy's capitulation. The Albanian National Liberation Army offered stubborn resistance, succeeding in keeping hold of a number of the country's liberated regions.

The Soviet troops' offensive in the Balkans in the fall of 1944 created favorable conditions for combat operations by the Albanian National Liberation Army, which by that time mustered some 70,000

fighters. Its units launched a decisive offensive which culminated 29 November 1944 in the total expulsion of the fascist occupiers from the country's territory.

During World War II the Soviet and Albanian peoples fought together against the fascist invaders. On the eve of the 40th anniversary of the great victory over fascism, Soviet people pay a tribute of sincere respect to the Albanian people, who made their contribution to the common cause of the routing of fascism.

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26 June 1985

ALBANIA

## MURRA SPEECH ON WAR ANNIVERSARY

AU100851 Tirana ATA in English 1850 GMT 9 May 85

[Report on speech given by Prokop Murra, Minister of Defense, candidate member of the AWP CC Politburo, at meeting to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the end of World War II in Tirana on 9 May]

[Text]--the Albanian people was ranked since the first days in the struggle against fascism--

Forty years ago, the historic victory over fascism, over the most reactionary and the most savage forces mankind had known since that time, was achieved Comrade Prokop Murra said among the other things.

The Albanian people was ranked since the first days in the struggle against fascism. In the message addressed to our people one day after the victory, on 10 May 1945, the beloved leader of our people, Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed: "the contribution we rendered to the great cause of mankind is boundless because fighting tooth and nail and with manliness we climbed our calvary and chin up and chest out and stronger than ever we arrived at the apotheosis of victory".

Fascism as a deeply reactionary movement or form of governing, he said further on, does not belong only to the past. As the 8th congress of our party pointed out, fascism is knocking at the doors of many countries, despite the forms it is manifested. The U.S. president, Reagan, with his visit to the graves of the "SS" in Germany, openly protected the fascists, signalling to the neofascist forces to organize themselves and operate. Therefore, it is necessary that the peoples, all the democratic and peace loving forces vigilantly hollow the events.

The patriotic movement of the Soviet Union, the speaker stressed, the anti-fascist liberation struggle of the peoples and other countries of Europe, compelled the western powers to unite in alliance with the Soviet Union and fight against the fascist bloc. Nevertheless, their aims remained unchanged and were determined more by the interest to hit German capital which demanded hegemony and world domination. They

sabotaged several times the opening of "the second front" in Europe, interfered and tried to put under their control the anti-fascist liberation struggle of the peoples, so that old capitalist order be preserved everywhere.

Further on Comrade Prokop Murra continued:

At present, the bourgeoisie and modern revisionists are raising a hue and cry on the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism and the end of the second World War, distorting history in compliance with their interests and policy.

U.S. imperialism and its allies clamorously extolling the role of the western powers for the destruction of fascism. The aim is to hide their reactionary role to bring fascism to power and to prettify their present policy of oppression and expansion.

Both the imperialists and soviet social imperialists try to minimize the struggle of the peoples enslaved by fascism, to ignore their contribution to achieve the victory over it. They need this to show that the future of the peoples is allegedly in hands of the big powers, that it is they who make the good and bad weather. Hence, the peoples must entrust their fate to the superpowers and submit to them. But the historic truth is that the enslaved peoples never reconciled with the fascists. Their resistance increased step by step and the heat of war hit the fascist occupiers everywhere.

After stressing that the anti-fascist national liberation war of the Albanian people, organized and led with farsightedness, courage and bravery by the communist party of Albania and the strategist of this war, Comrade Enver Hoxha, is the most severe, bloody and glorious war in the history of century long struggles our people have waged for freedom, independence and social progress, that in this struggle, which surpassed the limits of a struggle merely for the national liberation, there was carried out the most profound and radical turning point in the historic destinies of our people: there was founded the communist party and the people's revolution triumphed, the speaker said further on:

Through their heroic war and the triumph of the great popular revolution, the Albanian people set a great example showing that even a small people, in set national and international historic conditions, are able to fight against the triumph over bigger enemies, to achieve the national and social liberation, when in their liberation war guarantee a sound unity and a high scale of organization, conscience and readiness to make every sacrifice, when they create a capable revolutionary, monolithic, consistent leadership loyal to the end to them [as received] interests of the people.

--our homeland as compared with its population of only 1 million inhabitants, hold one of the first places as for its casualties and material damage--

Further on he spoke of the heavy burden the Albanian people shouldered during the second World War. The armed people and the national liberation army, he stressed, whose effective amounted 70 thousand partisans, organized in brigades, divisions and army corps, fought within their territory against, 15 Italian and German divisions and inflicted important damages on them. They killed, wounded and captured 70,000 of them. Over 1300 guns and mortars, 2100 tanks and armoured vehicles, about 2,000 lorries and a large quantity of arms, ammunition and other military material were destroyed and captured.

Following the complete liberation of the country too, on the order of the general commander, Comrade Enver Hoxha, two divisions of our national liberation army fought and contributed their assistance to the liberation of Kosovo, Diber, Montenegro, Bosnia and Sandjak. This struggle, during which hundreds of sons and daughters of the people laid down their lives, was an important contribution of the Albanian people to carry out their internationalist duty to carry to the end the struggle to smash fascism.

The fascist occupiers, armed with the modern weapons of the time, with fire and sword perpetrated numerous miseries to stamp out the flames of the people's war. Our homeland as compared with its population of only 1 million inhabitants, holds one of the first places as for its casualties and material damage. 28,000 sons and daughters of this people laid down their lives in the altar of freedom. More than 7.3 percent of the population was maimed by the war. Several thousands of people were imprisoned or interned in the concentration camps in Italy, Germany and other countries occupied by them. Almost every Albanian family suffered material damage from the occupiers, 21 percent of the houses in villages and towns were burnt or ruined. More than one-third of cattle was slaughtered. The command of the German troops of the south east admitted that "from the destruction of bridges alone, Albania suffered a set-back on scores of years".

--Albania is the only country in Europe which was liberated with its own forces, without the direct intervention of the Red Army or of another allied army--

Despite the very grave conditions of the war, it is an indisputable fact that Albania is the only country in Europe which was liberated with its own forces, without the direct intervention of the Red Army or of another allied army. Under the sure leadership of the communist party, of Albania the insurgent Albanian people and their national liberation army carried out self-reliantly the strategic tasks within the country. The heroic struggle of the Albanian people under the leadership of the communist party of Albania was the decisive factor

for the liberation of our country and for the triumph of the people's revolution. The Soviet Union, the Red Army with Comrade Stalin at the head have been for us an external auxiliary factor. The fates of Albania were determined by our people themselves, with rifle in hand and their heroic Marxist-Leninist party at the head and by nobody else.

We denounce the attempts of the imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists and the Yugoslav Titoites to ignore and reduce the importance of the war and the contribution of our people. Their aim is to present it as a movement of some patriotic CHETAS [bands] and moreover dependent on the so-called aids. Such shameless falsifications throw light on their typical imperialist and chauvinistic conceptions. Our people began the anti-fascist armed struggle when the hordes of Hitler and Mussolini were on top of their strength. They waited neither for the victories of the Red Army nor for those of the Anglo-American allies. They did not wait for anyone to donate their freedom but were totally engaged in a life-and-death struggle against the fascist occupiers. They did not keep their eyes on the material "aids" of the Anglo-American allies, which in fact remained only promises and words, not only this but their military missions plotted intrigues with the local reactionary forces collaborators of the fascist occupiers, in order to sabotage the struggle of our people.

--We recall with profound admiration the great and vital role of the glorious and unforgettable leader of our party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha--

Today, when we commemorate the 40th anniversary of the historic victory over fascism and the heroic struggle of the Albanian people, which was crowned with the triumph of the people's revolution, Comrade Prokop Murra stressed, we recall with a profound admiration the great and vital role played by the glorious and unforgettable leader of our party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Enver Hoxha, the greatest son of our people and the greatest historic figure of our nation, founded the Communist Party of Albania, organized and led the National Liberation War and our People's Revolution, created the National Liberation Front and the National Liberation Army and laid the foundations of the People's Power. He provided the National Liberation War of our people with a correct Marxist-Leninist orientation, with a sound organization and a leadership in action. He is the architect of the correct line and stands of the party at every moment, [as received] the main leader to carry this line into practice. "The great act performed by Enver Hoxha on that turbulent dark November night in 1941 by founding the Communist Party, Comrade Ramiz Alia has said, provided the Albanian people with the light they were lacking, provided them with the mind to see into the future, provided them with the staff which would lead them in the titanic life and death struggle". Enver Hoxha is the founder of our People's Power which emerged from

the muzzle of the gun during the anti-fascist war. To Comrade Enver Hoxha belongs the merit of working out and giving the orientations to link up the war of the Albanian people with the great anti-fascist war of the peoples.

The principled and unwavering struggle of Comrade Enver Hoxha against the chauvinistic interferences of the revisionist leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party in order to subdue our party and the National Libeartion War of our people are salvational and of a great historic importance.

Being led with clarity and determination by Comrade Enver Hoxha, the Communist Party of Albania acted as the only guiding and organizing force in the National Liberation War. It denounced sternly and at proper time the opportunist views which questioned the future of the war of our people. All the enemies, be they internal or external, failed. And this happened due to the fact that the party and people were led by a great leader, who knew well what had to be done and who loyally adhered to the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin in accordance with the concrete conditions of our country and the situations in the world.

--the dangerous and threatening situation existing in the world today--consequence of the aggressive policy of the two superpowers--

Speaking about the tense international situation, Comrade Prokop Murra said further on:

This whole dangerous threatening situation stems above all from the aggressive, expansionist and enslaving policy of the two superpowers, the American imperialism and the Soviet social-imperialism, from their rivalry for world domination. In particular, in the United States of America and in the social-imperialist Soviet Union the state power is in the hands of extremist representatives of the interests of powerful industrial-military complexes. The course of a policy from positions of strength, the adventurism and the intensive preparations for wars are linked precisely with the interests of these complexes. Clear testimony to this is the militarisation of the economy and the unbridled arms race.

The imperialists and the two superpowers in particular seek to cover up this very tense and explosive situation with demagogic. They make much noise about disarmament, about the lessening of danger of war, and about the defence of peace. However, neither the Reagan policy for talks from "the positions of strength", nor the policy of "military-strategic equilibrium" pursued by Moscow chieftains, nor the agreements and treaties that have been concluded or may be concluded between them in regard to the alleged prohibition of arms race and the reduction of nuclear weapons, nor the establishment of the so-called "nuclear

"weapons free" zones serve the international security and the cause of peace. Moreover, the doctrines proclaimed by the white house or the proposals made by Kremlin, the endless talks in Vienna, Helsinki, Geneva, the stale debates at UNO are a dangerous deception. They intend to lull the peoples into sleep, to cover up or justify the armament race. And all these are done to the detriment of the other peoples as well as at the expense of the revolutionary and liberation movements of the peoples.

Nowadays it is indispensable to tear off the mask of the "socialist", "anti-imperialist" and pacifist demagogy of the Soviet social-imperialists. Posing as "champions of peace", they seek to deceive the peoples, by speculating with the role played once by the Soviet state. After J. Stalins death and the seizure of power by the Khrushchevite renegades, a regressive counterrevolutionary process took place in the Soviet Union, which transformed it into capitalist country of a special brand, that is into a social-imperialist state which pursues an aggressive and warmongering policy which is as dangerous as that pursued by the American imperialism the aggressive Warsaw Treaty and NATO, dominated and manipulated by the two superpowers, do not serve security and peace in Europe at all. On the contrary they increase the dangers and heighten the tension in our continent.

Further on, after dwelling on the achievements of Albania over these 40 years in all the fields of life, Comrade Prokop Murra stressed:

Our party and socialist state follow attentively everything that happens in Europe and the world. Our foreign policy has been and is a policy of proletarian principles defined by Comrade Enver Hoxha. These have provided our homeland with a honored name and respect in the world. In the future, too the Party of Labor of Albania and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania will consistently pursue the policy of defending the interests of our country and of strengthening its international position. Being guided by the principles of the proletarian internationalism, they will powerfully support the revolutionary and liberation movements, they will back up all the genuine Marxist-Leninist forces and will continue to the end the struggle against all the current of modern revisionism to preserve the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

We are for correct relations, for relations of mutual profit, good neighborliness, and non interference in the internal affairs of each other with all the states which have different regimes from ours. While we have not had and will never have relations with the superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union, our socialist state will fight unwaveringly against the expansionist and aggressive policy and the military blocs manipulated by the American imperialism and the Soviet social-imperialism.

In conclusion Comrade Prokop Murra said: Following the road of the party, which was opened and clearly defined by Comrade Enver Hoxha, socialist Albania, which was born 40 years ago in the titanic struggle of its people and which has at its foundations the blood of its sons and daughters, the sweat, sacrifices and toil of an ancient and heroic people, will forge always ahead, smashing all the enemies and coping with any situation created. Let us carry always aloft, proudly and unwaveringly the triumphant banner of our glorious party, of the party of Enver Hoxha.

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ALBANIA

AWP ORGAN REVIEWS HOXHA WWII IDEOLOGY

AU051347 Tirana ATA in English 0935 GMT 5 May 85

[Article: "In the Context of the 40th Anniversary the Triumph over Fascism, the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha Worked out a Clear Strategy and Tactic of the National Liberation War"]

[Text] Under the above title, the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT carries an article which says among other things:

The Albanian people was one of the first who faced with arms the fascist aggressors in very difficult and complicated conditions, betrayed by the ruling classes of the country and with no backing and support from abroad. They launched their resistance against the fascist occupiers, before the second world war burst out. But the struggle of the Albanian people entered a new and higher stage only after the founding of the Communist Party of Albania (today the PLA).

The party and Comrade Enver Hoxha worked out the strategy for the period of the anti-fascist national liberation war. At this time, when the country was occupied by the Italian fascists, the major contradiction was that between the Albanian people and foreign occupier, while the contradiction between the working masses and the exploiting classes was of second hand importance.

All the slogans launched at the time of the national liberation war by the CPA have been inside the national liberation context. They popularized and explained the program, the political line of the struggle against the occupiers.

The Communist Party of Albania popularized the struggle of the Soviet Union led by J.V. Stalin, correctly appreciated its alliance with Great Britain and the USA as a military alliance required by the circumstances to save the world from the danger of fascist slavery. Likewise, it popularized the anti-fascist struggle of all the peoples, particularly of the Balkan peoples. Without impairing the national liberation context of the struggle, the party made known to the masses what was communism, the communists, convincing them that the communists were the most determined fighters for the liberation of the country from the foreign occupiers.

In the autumn of 1943 when the whole reaction gathered round the new Hitlerite occupiers, the question was laid that it should be fought and smashed just as the fascist occupiers. But this time too the Central Committee of the Party stressed that our struggle against reaction is part of the struggle against the occupiers and in 1944 the party constantly instructed that the German occupiers were the main enemy.

Some western bourgeois historians adhered and adhere to the theses that during World War II Albania has been an arena of a civil war between the national liberation movement and the treacherous organizations "Balli Kombetar" and "Legaliteti". Refuting this theses, Comrade Enver Hoxha has written since that time: "there are no feuds at home and the less so civil war in Albania. There is only one feud and war: struggle against the occupier in the first place and against its treacherous tools".

Later on the landowners and the reactionary bourgeoisie burst out the fratricidal war in Albania. The major enemy for these classes was not the foreign occupier, but the communist party, the national liberation front. Under these conditions, the national liberation war of the Albanian people should be directed not only against the external enemy, but also against the internal one. The national liberation front fought against the landowners and the reactionary bourgeoisie not as exploiting classes and strata but as collaborators and tools of the occupier.

Speaking of the indispensability of interlacing the struggle for national liberation with that for [as received] social liberation, Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed at the funeral rally, on 15 April 1985 that Comrade Enver Hoxha "realized that without fighting simultaneously and with the same determination against these two hostile forces, genuine freedom could not be achieved, the national independence would not be won, the social aspirations of the masses could not be realized."

CSO: 2020/129

ALBANIA

AWP PAPER ON HOXHA ROLE IN SHAPING FOREIGN POLICY

Tirana ATA in English 0920 GMT 4 May 85

Article: "Comrade Enver Hoxha--Architect of the Foreign Policy of Socialist Albania"]

[Text] The newspaper ZERTI I POPULLIT, in an article under the above title written by the vice-minister of foreign affairs of the Psra Muhamet Kapllani, writes among others: Comrade Enver Hoxha left us a free and independent Albania--the state of the people in power that speaks only with its voice, known in the world as the voice of truth.

He is the elaborator of the guidelines of the foreign policy and stands of our state on international questions.

On the basis of the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, at the foundation of the foreign policy our state has put above all the principle of complete independence in all the fields, political economic, ideological, military, social etc.

Underlining the principle of independence and based on self reliance, Albania speaks and acts with the logic and conviction it has created over the war for the liberation of the country and today in the construction of socialism. All those who try to present it as its "separation" from the international community and cooperation with it, make nothing but distort the truth.

Albania has been and is for normal relations with all those states that accept to establish relations with our country on the basis of equality, non-interference in the internal affairs, observation of the sovereignty and non-violation of the territorial integrity, exchanges in all those fields of mutual interest.

Due to this principled policy outlined by Comrade Enver Hoxha and the activity of our state in the international arena, Albania is honored and ranked among the most progressive forces of our time, among those that contribute to the consolidation of peace, progress and emancipation of all mankind.

The irreconcilable stand of our country towards U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism is a clear reflection of the principled and consistent foreign policy of a socialist state.

The people's socialist republic of Albania has made and makes its contribution to the cause of peace also through its unwavering stand to maintain no relations with any imperialist military bloc.

These principles are accompanied in our foreign policy with the efforts for the consolidation of the friendship with the peoples and countries that nurture the same feelings and respect the independence and sovereignty of our country.

Our socialist state, led by the teachings of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha has fought and will fight for international equal relations refuting all the unjust practices.

At the same time it has unreservedly supported the struggle of the peoples for national and social liberation against the oppressive, exploiting and aggressive policy of the imperialist powers, especially of the two superpowers, aware that for this stand it had to face the savage attacks of the enemies.

Socialist Albania has considered the development of the state relations of good neighborliness despite the different social systems, as one of the priorities of its foreign policy. It has shown it not through words, but through good will and deeds. A vivid testimony to the constant policy of good neighborliness and the contribution that Albania makes to the peace and security in the region is the prohibition of deployment of the foreign bases and armies in the Albanian territory. Comrade Enver Hoxha as declared solemnly that no ill will come to the neighboring countries and peoples by the socialist Albania.

Speaking in the solemn meeting devoted to the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution, Comrade Ramiz Alia said: "the foreign policy of our party and state is a policy tested in struggle and very difficult situations which have been created during the past 40 years both around our country and in the world. Practice has confirmed its correctness, effectiveness and adherence to principle. By proceeding on this course, always remaining loyal to the supreme interests of the homeland, the teachings of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, our foreign policy will achieve other greater victories and will serve the cause of the revolution and socialism in Albania even better".

CSO: 2020/129

ALBANIA

AWP PAPER REVEALS HOXHA ACHIEVEMENTS

AU051300 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 5 May 85

[Article: "The Ideal of the Martyrs Lives in the Immortal Deed of the People, Party and Comrade Enver"]

[Text] As always, our entire people commemorate with respect this 5 May, the Martyrs Day, their immortal deed, the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT writes among others in its today's editorial. Their life and deed is linked with one of the most glorious periods of our history, with the anti-fascist national liberation war, in whose front ranks were 28,000 fighters who have fallen, the unforgettable martyrs of the nation. They laid down their lives in the name of victory, in the name of the great ideal of the freedom and socialism.

But the homage our people pay on this 5 May is incomparable. Among the 28,000 martyrs rests for some days now the most beloved of them. He, with whose name in their lips the fighters fell in the battle field, the communist who united the communists, the glorious founder of the party, the outstanding leader and organizer of the war, the great leader of the party and people, the architect of the construction of the new Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha. This is a great, irretrievable loss. Therefore the grief of the party, of the whole people is utmost.

Comrade Enver Hoxha, ZERI I POPULLIT stresses, was in the van of the events of the time, and war, at that time when the people and homeland needed him more than ever, when their destinies were seriously endangered. With Enver Hoxha at the head of the party, our people are among the most active ones in the anti-fascist coalition. They poured their blood in torrents for the freedom, triumphed over fascism and made their international aid, taking part in the liberation of the neighboring peoples of Yugoslavia. Therefore, our people see to the 40th anniversary of the triumph over fascism, on 9 May, proud of the blood shed. Almost half a century, Enver Hoxha did not stop fighting till the last moments of his life. As a brilliant leader and outstanding strategist, as heroic leader and a powerful Leninist militant, Comrade Enver Hoxha knew to orientate himself correctly in turbulent circumstances and situations of the time, triumphed over

traps, plots of external and internal enemies, waged a heroic principled struggle in defence of Marxism-Leninism, educated and tempered the communists in struggle, strengthened through war the revolutionary features of the party.

Comrade Enver Hoxha, AERI I POPULLIT continued departed from the fold of the party and people, but he left a great, brilliant deed. This is the greatest consolation, his deed is polyedric, guiding. The party marched applying his teachings, while our homeland, once among the poorest in Europe ushered on the road of socialism. [sentence as received] His lessons will always remain relevant, because they rely on the great principles of the immortal Marxism-Leninism. Part of the deed of Enver Hoxha are the transformations of our country and society, are the numerous projects of socialism, is the whole militant road of the party and people. "The loss our country and people suffered is grave and irretrievable, said Comrade Ramiz Alia at the 11th Plenum of the CC of the party. But the party creation by Enver Hoxha, lives, Albania which Enver made a flower lives, socialism to which he devoted his mind and heart lives, therefore our Enver too lives and will live amongst us through centuries".

To defend the blood of the martyrs, to realize in every step their lofty ideals and last will, for which they laid down their lives, this is the greatest honor the party and people make to the martyrs and heroes of the homeland. The immortal deed of Enver Hoxha embodies their ideal, the realization of their loftiest dreams. The holding aloft of this deed, the realization every step and in everything of its lessons, for the present and future, from generation to generation--this is the greatest honor to the glorious leader, the most beloved man of all the hearts, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The life and blood of the martyrs and heroes of the national liberation war, just as the whole militant road of our people in centuries, the struggle for the socialist construction have taught us a lesson that the savage enemies, who have always had our victories as a thorn in the flesh have envied and envy Albania, our beloved homeland. The message of Comrade Enver: "In the name of the bloodshed and toil, the sweat and privations, let us transmit to the coming generations the great message which history taught us: we must always be vigilant, always at work and on the attack to defend the victories achieved and carry them further forward" is the great motif for all the times. As always, in the future too the enemies will break their necks in the face of the steel unity of the party with the people, a unity which has its roots in the blood of the martyrs, a unity which was tempered by the party with Comrade Enver and which will be further steeled in the coming battles, ZERI I POPULLIT writes in conclusion.

CSO: 2020/129

ALBANIA

ALIA, CARCANI, OTHERS PAY HOMAGE AT HOXHA GRAVE

AU011755 Tirana ATA in English 1700 GMT 1 May 85

[Excerpt] Today on May Day thousands of pioneers from all the districts of the country, former members of the organization "Debatik", little children, youngsters, school pupils and workers, working people of work and production centers, etc, gathered in "Scanderbeg" Square before noon. They came here with a boundless love for the party, proud of the honor made to the pioneers' organization by giving the honorable name "Enver's Pioneers", the name of our beloved and unforgettable leader and teacher.

At 0930, Comrade Ramiz Alia, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania, Comrade Adil Carcani, the member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and chairman of the Council of Ministers, the members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party, Hajdrdin Celiku and Hakuran Isai, the deputy members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party, Foto Cami and Prokop Murra paid homage at the grave of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Comrade Ramiz Alia and Comrade Adil Carcani and other comrades laid bouquets of flowers at the grave of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The party and state leaders stood in silence, and with their fists up honored the unforgettable memory of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the legendary leader of the antifascist national liberation war and the heroic leader of the construction of socialism. [passage omitted]

CSO: 2020/128

26 June 1985

ALBANIA

**ALIA VISITS VLORE MEETING IN DRASHOVICA****Meeting in Drashovica**

AU140806 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 14 May 85

[ATA headline: Warm meeting of comrade Ramiz Alia with the people in Drashovica and Myzeqe of Vlora--the strength of the party lies in the people in their work and struggle]

[Text] Tirana, 14 May (ATA)--On 13 May before noon, Comrade Ramiz Alia, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania made visits to the district of Vlore. He was accompanied by the member of the political bureau of the Central Committee of the party, Comrade Pali Miska, the secretary of the presidium of the people's assembly, Sihat Tozaj as well as by the first secretary of the district party committee Enver Halili and other comrades.

Thousands upon thousands of people from all the villages and the region of Lumi i Vlores, Mesaplik and Kuc as well as from the other villages of Laberia gathered in Drashovica early morning [as received] and extended him a warm and enthusiastic reception.

A group of young pioneers present Comrade Ramiz Alia and the other comrades accompanying him with bouquets of flowers.

Comrade Ramiz Alia cordially meets with and embraces the patriots, veterans of war and labor, cooperativists, young boys and girls, oilmen, miners, who wish him welcome and express their great joy to have him amongst them.

Then a cordial conversation begins. After being informed of the political situation in the agricultural cooperatives of the zone and the achievements of the cooperativists, who have turned the grief over the death of the beloved leader of the party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha into strength, Comrade Ramiz Alia, first secretary of the Central Committee of the party takes the floor.

"I would like," Comrade Ramiz Alia said, "that in the name of the Central Committee of the party, to greet you all, the people of the Lumi i Vlore, of Mesaplik and Kuc, all the heroic people of your district."

"It is in the tradition of our party," he said, "in its style of work, in the teachings of Comrade Enver that the cadres of the party of all levels be among the people, learn from the people and fight together with them, because the strength of the party lies in the people in their work and struggle. That is why we came here amongst you."

"The cooperativists and all the working masses of the district of Vlore have attained good results in all directions, in industry in agriculture and in livestock."

"We," Comrade Ramiz Alia said further on, "suffered a great loss, the greatest that the new Albania has had in its history, because we lost not only the leader, not the one who united us, who taught and led us in the struggle for the liberation of the homeland and in the great struggle for the construction of socialism. Our people lost their son, every family lost its member, because Comrade Enver and the party have entered in every Albanian family."

"Comrade Enver, with whose name is linked the creation of the New Albania showed our people the way of victories, the way of happiness, so that we, the entire Albanian people, follow with loyalty, carry it forward, our people," Comrade Ramiz Alia said, "are a brave people, noble and courageous people."

"All our people, especially our youth, working class, peasantry" Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed further on, "showed and are showing of a high political and ideological maturity. The revolutionary spirit and the unprecedented mobilization that have burst throughout the country, are yielding their results. As has rarely happened the services in agriculture have this year's rates, [sentence as received] in industry too the plans have rarely been overfulfilled as these days. This happens because our entire people knew how to mobilize all their energies to realize the tasks we are faced with."

"The party," Comrade Ramiz Alia said, "wants from us to fight with all our forces to improve further the life of the people, and this is achieved by realizing those plans envisaged at the 7th five year plan, those great tasks of which Comrade Enver has continuously instructed. We must go on realizing and overfulfilling the tasks in agriculture and industry, because on their realization depends the progress of our country and the improvement of the standard of living of the people. A fundamental task of the party organizations is to reply to the revolutionary spirit and impetus of the masses throughout the country with a more perfect organization and an ever better method of work."

We should work even better, further strengthen the country's economy, aware that only in this way we consolidate further our socialist homeland.

Then Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out the lofty spirit of patriotism of the people of Vlora district which is manifested in many struggles and especially in the glorious epopes of the national liberation war and during the period of the socialist construction of the country. He spoke of the steel party-people unity which is a guarantee to all our victories.

We must always keep alive the great patriotism which in our people is nurtured since when a child is little, the ardent love for the homeland. This patriotism is linked not only with the struggle for the defence of the country, but also with the great work for the socialist construction, for the economic consolidation of the homeland, because, as is known, there can be no sure defence without a strong economy. This is the socialist patriotism that the party has educated and educates.

Today, Comrade Ramiz Alia said further on, the question of the unity of the people assumes a special importance and a new meaning. We have a united people. The party, in the lead of the mass organizations has worked and works to strengthen the unity of the people round it, the steel unity whose foundations our party and comrade Enver laid since in the years of the national liberation war. It is indispensable to consolidate this unity from day to day.

"Now," Comrade Ramiz continued, "we are working to realize the tasks of 1985, which is the last year of the 7th five year plan. Our perspectives are clear we have all the possibilities to carry our economy forward, because we are a country with a powerful material base, advanced industry and modern collectivized agriculture, which are reaching high levels of development. All the material conditions ensure us ever better perspectives for the economic and cultural development of the country. But first of all, we have the people, that decisive factor which solves every difficult problem, we have skillful workers and specialists in all the fields."

"Our party is linked with the people not through votes, but through blood, through the struggle they have waged, they are linked in the great colossal efforts for the liberation of the homeland and the construction of socialism. Our force lies precisely in this strong party that Comrade Enver created in struggle as an indispensability for the liberation of the people. There could be no freedom without the party. The people understood this therefore they supported the party and linked with it."

"We have built everything with our forces without stretching the hand to anyone and we act like this because we know that if you lay your hand [as received], you are forced to kneel down, and if you kneel down the other get [as received] on your back. We want to march forward to live free with our sweat."

"You love for the party," Comrade Ramiz Alia said in conclusion, "the unshakeable faith in its correct Marxist-Leninist line, the determination to march forward on the road of the party according to the teachings of Comrade Enver are guarantee to carry further our great tasks.

The speech of Comrade Ramiz Alia was listened to with great attention and was often punctuated by the ardent applauses and acclamation for the Party of Labor of Albania.

Comrade Ramiz Alia leaves seen off with love and great enthusiasm by the people of this region.

The first secretary of the Central Committee of the party, Comrade Ramiz Alia who is on a visit to the district of Vlora, went to the monument "Drashovice 1920-1943" and laid a bouquet of flowers.

Comrade Ramiz Alia as well as the comrades accompanying him honor with the fist up near this monument which perpetuates two battles waged in different historic periods, the epopee of the years 1920 and the greatest battle against the German occupiers following the capitulation of fascist Italy in September 1943.

#### Speech at Agricultural Cooperative

AU140840 Tirana ATA in English 0740 GMT 14 May 85

[ATA headline: Self-reliance--our great principle]

[Text] Tirana, 14 May (ATA)--On 13 May afternoon, the first secretary of the Central Committee of the party Comrade Ramiz Alia, accompanied by the member of the political bureau of the Central Committee of the party, Comrade Pali Miska, the secretary of the presidium of the people's assembly Sihat Tozaj as well as leading cadres of the party and power in the district, went to the higher type agricultural cooperative "Udha e Leninit" of Novosela.

Hundreds of people gathered in the hall of the palace of culture and burst out into powerful applauses and acclamations when Comrade Ramiz Alia enters.

A warm and cordial talk is held here on the work achievements and tasks of this year, the deep going transformations that have taken place just as throughout Albania in the Myzeqe of Vlora, too.

Amidst the joy of the cooperativists and their ardent acclamations for our glorious party of labor, Comrade Ramiz Alia took the floor.

The speech of Comrade Ramiz was followed with great attention and was frequently punctuated by stormy applauses and acclamations.

Leaving the hall, Comrade Ramiz Alia is also greeted by thousands of cooperativists and other working people and leaves them seen off with love by all the people.

Stop in Himara

AU151226 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 15 May 85

[Text] In continuation of his visits to the district of Vlore, the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia arrived in Himara on 14 May before noon. During this visit too, Comrade Ramiz Alia was accompanied by the member of the political bureau Comrade Pali Miska, the secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly Sihat Tozaj as well as by the first secretary of the district party committee Enver Halili and the chairman of the executive committee of the district people's council Luan Muhameti.

Cooperativists from all the villages of the coastal zone Dhermi, Palasa, Vunoi, Himara, Piluri, Qeparoi and Kudhes gathered in Himara town. Leading cadres of the party and state power organs in the district, of the agricultural cooperative and of the town of Himara distinguished cooperativists and others wish welcome to Comrade Ramiz Alia and the comrades accompanying him. Those present warmly and enthusiastically welcomed the coming of Comrade Ramiz Alia.

Comrade Ramiz Alia warmly meets and embraces with veterans, cooperativists, militarymen, young boys and girls. A group of pioneers present him and the other comrades bouquets of flowers.

Herein begins a warm talk on the work, happy life of the people of the coast, the great tasks we will be faced with and the clear and sure perspective. After acquainting comrade Ramiz Alia with the achievements attained by this economy, which from 1960 has increased twice the olive production, 9 times the production of citrus trees, 4-5 times the production of fruits, etc, the chairman of the agricultural cooperative spoke of the beautiful and happy life of the people of Himara, which differs completely with the past. He assured the party that here in the coast there lives a people loyal to the party and closely linked with it. Then cooperativists, youngsters and other leaders of this economy spoke.

Amidst the applause and acclamations, Comrade Ramiz Alia took the floor. Coming to the district of Vlore, Comrade Ramiz Alia said at the beginning, we could not help coming here to Himara too, to meet with you, the people of Himara and of the whole coast, who are a brave and industrious people, linked like flesh to bone with the party and Comrade Enver since the beginning of our struggle and constantly. On this occasion, I want to convey to you all, brothers and sisters, the warmest greetings of the central committee of our party.

Our entire people, Comrade Ramiz Alia said, experienced a special situation these days, which is linked with the profound grief of our people and party over the death of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's death, Comrade Ramiz Alia said further on, has left profound impressions in the heart of everyone and the grief is great because Comrade Enver represented not only the great leader of the party and people, but also the man who knew the spirit of the people and their aspirations, rarely in the history of mankind can we find such people who are interpreters of the feelings of the people and being at the head of them, lead them towards freedom progress. Comrade Enver Hoxha was not only a great thinker, a philosopher, but he was also a practical leader of the revolution. In everything we possess today, in everything we have attained, there are embodied not only his ideas but also his constant work and efforts.

Further on Comrade Ramiz Alia spoke of the transformations that have taken place in this zone, which, he stressed, is a direct expression of the care of Comrade Enver Hoxha, of his instructions to plant the whole coastal zone with olive and citrus trees and you, Comrade Ramiz Alia said, have carried and are carrying this precious instruction into life. Our determination to march on the road defined by Comrade Enver Hoxha is being materialized these days with a great mobilization at work, which is an expression of the love of the people for the party, of their close ties with it.

The Central Committee of the party, Comrade Ramiz Alia said in conclusion, is convinced that this road on which we have marched and will march in the future too, is the sole correct road to guarantee the happy present and future of the Albanian people, to guarantee the complete construction of the socialist society, to guarantee an ever happier life for the present and coming generations. We all gain strength, because we powerfully rely on the people, we gain strength and have firm confidence from this steel unity of the people round the party. The speech of Comrade Ramiz was received warmly and with applause.

Comrade Ramiz Alia and the other comrades accompanying him left Himara seen off with love by the inhabitants of the coastal zone.

#### Visit to Electric Bulb Factory

AU151227 Tirana ATA in English 0750 GMT 15 May 85

[Text] On 14 May afternoon Comrade Ramiz Alia and the comrades accompanying him went for a visit to the bulb factory in Vlore. Hundreds of workers, cadres and specialists were gathered at the entrance of the factory and received him with applause and enthusiastic acclamations. Together with the workers Comrade Ramiz Alia entered the factory and had a cordial talk with them.

You came here to give us the warm word of the party, the directress of the enterprise Liljana Numani says to Comrade Ramiz. On behalf of 600 workers and specialists of our enterprise we assure you of our faith, we give the word that we will be ready and work selflessly to carry into effect the instructions of the party and you.

Thanking them for the welcome and congratulating them for the hitherto achievements Comrade Ramiz Alia asked for the life of the working people, their working conditions and for many problems of production in the factory. Comrade Ramiz Alia said: we have a solid economy, a great army of skillful specialists and cadres in all the fields, well-trained and who make an exemplary work to the benefit of production. Comrade Ramiz Alia expressed the conviction that the cadres and specialists will fight ever more in the future to realize the great tasks because they are men of knowledge and culture and since they are [words illegible] way a party work.

The working class, all our working people, Comrade Ramiz said further on, are finding new forces, are displaying an unprecedented readiness and mobilization. Moreover, Comrade Ramiz Alia gave many instructions and advice on the higher qualification of the workers, the improvement of quality and technologies of production.

Then Comrade Ramiz Alia visited all the workshops of this factory where he was welcomed by the workers enthusiastically. He talked with them and exchanged opinions to carry production forward in all indexes. The workers pledged that they will apply these instructions as soon as possible.

Comrade Ramiz Alia was seen off with acclamations and enthusiasm by hundreds of workers, cadres and specialists of this enterprise, and other participants in the meeting.

#### Address to Vlore District Cadres

AU161321 Tirana Ata in English 0900 GMT 16 May 85

[ATA headline: Comrade Ramiz Alia meets with cadres of Vlora district]

[Text] On 15 May, the first secretary of the Central Committee of the party Comrade Ramiz Alia met with cadres of the organs of the party, state power, economy and mass organizations of the district of Vlore, veterans, militarymen, etc.

Attending this meeting were also the member of the political bureau of the Central Committee of the party Comrade Pali Miska and the secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly Sihat Tozaj.

Those present at the hall of the district party committee, where this meeting took place, burst out into applause and ardent acclamations for the Party of Labor when Comrade Ramiz Alia came. He greeted and cordially met with cadres of different sectors.

Declaring the meeting open, the first secretary of the district party committee Enver Halili informed Comrade Ramiz Alia of the drive and unprecedented mobilization of the working masses of the district of Vlore which is expressed through concrete realizations and growing indexes in different fields, to further revolutionize the life of the party grassroot organizations and the increase of the vanguard role of the communists, the efforts being made to elevate the level of management by the organs of the power and economy, etc. Leading cadres of the mass organizations in the district, of different sectors of industry and agriculture, military units, etc., spoke. They reported of the attained successes and the targets set in support of the revolutionary movement "standard bearers in implementing the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha."

Amidst the great enthusiasm of those present, comrade Ramiz Alia first secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania took the floor.

The great love of the people, communists and all the working people of the heroic district of Vlore for our glorious party, for Comrade Enver Hoxha, for his teachings, Comrade Ramiz Alia said, is the clearest expression of their determination to march with firm confidence on the road of the party, on the road of Comrade Enver.

Our party underwent the gravest test during these 40 years of the liberation. The loss of Comrade Enver Hoxha was immeasurable and tremendous for all the communists and our people, because Comrade Enver was our leader and teacher that at any situation however complicated and difficult, with his sure hand and sharp mind, has always led us from victory to victory. That is why we say that the new Albania, socialism in our country, the life we lead today are linked with the name of the party and Enver Hoxha. When we say Enver Hoxha we have said the Party of Labor of Albania. The words party-Enver are notions that cannot be separated from one another.

The working class, the laboring peasantry, the youth, intelligentsia with the communists in the van, Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed, at these difficult moments displayed a very high political and ideological level. Not in words, but in deeds they turned the grief into mobilization to strengthen our socialist homeland, to forge ahead the construction of socialism, to further develop our economy, culture and defence, being convinced that only in this way, the last will of Comrade Enver is carried into reality, that only in this way we stand loyal to the teachings, ideas and deed of Enver Hoxha.

Our people, Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed further on, with the great drive, with the unprecedented mobilization they sat down to work and with the extraordinary results they attained and are attaining, displays their great love and close connection with the party and Comrade Enver.

The initiatives and this great drive of the masses, Comrade Ramiz Alia said, are a new revolutionary moment in the life of our country which reflects the determination of the people to march forward on the road of the party. We must meet with a more qualified work this moment, this revolutionary spirit and unprecedented mobilization which expresses concretely the great confidence of the people in the party and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Today, Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed, it is of special importance to preserve alive this revolutionary spirit and carry it further.

To this great mobilization that has emerged, Comrade Ramiz Alia said, testify the facts mentioned by the comrades that spoke here. In scores of thousands of young cooperativists, there is not a single unjustified absentee at work during this period. There is not a communist in your district that has not realized and overfulfilled the tasks these days. This is a great lesson that the people taught us, which we, party cadres and communists should know how to make our own in order to create a revolutionary vigorous and creative method and style at work.

The party, he said, is for 40 years working for the education of the people in the struggle for the socialist construction, and if we speak of that high political level of the people, of our youth, of their ideological force, this is a result of that careful work and daily struggle the party has made. The results achieved in all the fields of our country show that this great work of the party, political, ideological, organizational work has yielded its results. These results are concrete in your district as well.

Then Comrade Ramiz Alia swelt on some tasks the party organization are faced with to keep always aloft this mobilization and to carry it further. Yes, we, he stressed, have a strong and really heroic party. The strength of our party, its unity, its organizational force was displayed during these days of profound grief. This is the party that Comrade Enver Hoxha has prepared, this is the party that he left in our hands. He spoke also of the work and the further increase of the role of the mass organizations, etc.

What is important in the work of our party, Comrade Ramiz Alia said further on, is to consolidate the ties of the party with the masses. Comrade Enver always taught us that the cadres should be linked with the masses, because the force of the party lies in the masses.

The party, Comrade Ramiz Alia said, wants the communists to raise higher the revolutionary and militant spirit.

Comrade Ramiz Alia instructed that the political and educational work of the party with the masses be carried forward. Only in this way, he said, the directives of the party and the teachings of Comrade Enver will become flesh and blood of our people.

Comrade Ramiz Alia instructed that the creative thinking of the specialists, of the cadre to increase production be encouraged.

The economy is the basis of all our development. An advanced economy is a great factor for the defence of the homeland. Therefore, Comrade Ramiz instructed, let us mobilize ourselves in the lead of the masses to realise the great tasks we are faced with.

I express my conviction, Comrade Ramiz said in conclusion, that the party organization, the heroic people of Vlore, who claim distinction in the struggle and work, the working class, laboring peasantry, intelligentsia, the youth, women, military, will march always on the road defined by the party and Comrade Enver and will score greater successes. We thank you for the warm reception that the people of Vlore extended to us and will transmit the Central Committee of the party your love and determination to march always on the road of the party and Comrade Enver.

The speech of Comrade Ramiz Alia was listened to with great attention and was received with fiery applause and acclamation.

At the end of the meeting, the first secretary of the party committee of the district, Enver Halili thanked Comrade Ramiz Alia in the name of all the communists and the people of Vlore district that in the visits warm and cordial talks and meetings, with the very valuable instructions and advice that he gave to them even in the meeting with the cadres increased the mobilization of the masses and multiplied their energies to put into life the teachings of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha in order to realize to the letter the tasks in all the sectors of the socialist construction and the defence of the country. He promised that the people of the district, the communists, cadres and all the working people will steel further the unity round the party, its central committee with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head, to march always forward on the road defined by the party and Comrade Enver.

He was seen off with love by all those present and by inhabitants that had gathered near the party committee of the district.

The first secretary of the Central Committee of the party Comrade Ramiz Alia wound up the visits to the district of Vlore and returned to Tirana yesterday.

CSO: 2020/128

ALBANIA

CARCANI ATTENDS MEETING ON LIVESTOCK PROBLEMS

AU041300 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 4 May 85

[Excerpt] Yesterday before noon, at the Institute of Fodder and Pasture Researches in Fushe-Kruje, the Council of Ministers organized a national meeting to analyze the decision of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party "on the improvement of the fodder for the livestock and the growth of the production of meat".

Attending were also the member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers Comrade Adil Carcani, the alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers Comrade Qirjako Mihali, the secretary of the Central Committee of the Party Comrade Vangjel Cerrava and other comrades.

The national meeting was declared open by Comrade Qirjako Mihali.

Then Comrade Adil Carcani took the floor. Speaking of this important decision he stressed that the ideas of Comrade Enver Hoxha are in the foundation of all the achievements of our socialist agriculture, from the agrarian reform, collectivization, its strengthening and modernization. The problem on the improvement of the fodder as a key link for the development for the livestock and the increase of the production of meat, was examined by the Political Bureau on the instruction of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Speaking of the tasks laid down by the decision of the Political Bureau "on the improvement of fodder for the livestock and the increase of the production of meat", Comrade Adil Carcani stressed that in the first place we must understand the political and economic importance of the tasks laid down by this decision, whose realization will improve the supply of the people with livestock products, will further elevate the well-being of the working masses. After speaking of the good work that has been done concerning the insurance of nutrition and the high results of some agricultural economies, in different districts of the country he said that their experience must be disseminated and applied.

Further on he stressed the importance of establishing a correct structure of forage crops, so that it guarantees the fulfillment of the needs of the livestock. [passage omitted]

ALBANIA

CARCANI VISITS, SPEAKS IN GJIROKASTER

Carcani Honors Hoxha

AU181419 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 18 May 85

[Article: "Comrade Adil Carcani Makes Visits in the City of Gjirokaster"]

[Text] The member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers Comrade Adil Carcani is on a visit to the district of Gjirokaster. In this visit he is accompanied by the chairman of the National Committee of the War Veterans of the Albanian people, Comrade Shefqet Peci.

At the beginning they went to and laid bouquets of flowers on the bust of the beloved leader of the party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha at the entrance of the city accompanied by leading cadres of the party and state power organs in the district.

Comrade Adil Carcani and the other comrades accompanying him stand in silence and honor with the fist up the unforgettable memory of the life and immortal deed of the most respected son of Gjirokaster and of the whole Albania, the glorious leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha. Meanwhile, thousands of people have gathered in front of the house where Comrade Enver Hoxha was born and passed the years of childhood, in Palorto City quarter. They welcomed with applauses and enthusiasm Comrade Adil Carcani, Comrade Shefqet Peci and the other comrades. Comrade Adil Carcani meets with the companions of the city quarter and playfellows of Comrade Enver Hoxha, veterans, young boys and girls, school pupils, pioneers of Enver.

At the entrance of the house, Comrade Adil Carcani was received by leading cadres of the party and power organs in the district. Then, he went to the room where Comrade Enver Hoxha was born.

In this simple characteristic Gjirokaster house, our great and outstanding leader Comrade Enver Hoxha was born, said among others Comrade Adil Carcani. That is why it is an historic house. We come here with great emotions, because here there was born, reared the greatest man of our nation, of all times.

A rally is organized in the square near the house. Those present kept two minutes silence in token of honor and profound respect for the unforgettable memory and deed of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Inhabitants of Palorto City quarter took the floor at the rally. They said among other things that the grief caused by the loss of the son of Palorto, the beloved leader of the party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, was the gravest every family has experienced until now, but as always the party was close to us, gave us strength.

Then Comrade Adil Carcani took the floor. We come here amongst you on the instruction of the Central Committee of the Party and Comrade Ramiz Alia personally, Comrade Adil Carcani said among other things, to meet and talk with you after the great loss of the beloved leader of the party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

We have come other times too in this house in Palorto of Gjirokaster but today we are experiencing special and indescribable emotions because we do not have our glorious leader. We do not have him physically but he remains alive because he left our heroic party that he founded and led, left us a strong socialist state, a steel unity of the people round the party, his life-giving teachings, always guidelines to us. With the name and deed of Enver Hoxha is linked the most brilliant history of our nation, that our people call the epoch of the party, the epoch of Enver.

Then Comrade Adil Carcani underlined that one of the most fundamental qualities of the life and personality of Comrade Enver Hoxha was the great love and respect for the people, for the rank and file people of whom he thought, worked and fought as nobody else in his life. Turning the grief into strength, our people show that they will march always resolutely on the road that Comrade Enver taught us, they express the steel unity of the people round the party, its Central Committee with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head.

Comrade Adil Carcani spoke of the great impetus and mobilization of the working class, the cooperativist peasantry, the entire working people all over the country, and in Gjirokaster too, to realize the plans of this year and to put into life the objectives of the revolutionary initiatives and movements. This, he said in conclusion, is an expression of the readiness of the people who under the leadership of the party carry the brilliant and glorious deed of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The speech of Comrade Adil Carcani was received with applause and acclamation by those present.

Comrade Adil Carcani meets with and greets warmly the dear mothers of Gjirokaster. He is seen off with love by the inhabitants of the Palorto quarter.

Comrade Adil Carcani and the comrades accompanying him went for a visit to the metallic plant, where they were received warmly by hundreds of workers of this plant and of the other economic enterprises. In the square before the plant a meeting was organized, where the leading cadres of the economic enterprises informed him of the results the collectives have achieved, with the communists in the lead in the field of production and expressed the readiness and determination that the new objectives they have set in the context of the movement "standard bearers in implementing the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha" be realized.

In this meeting and during the visit to workshops of the factory Comrade Adil Carcani congratulated the workers for the good results and courageous pledges that they have undertaken and gave instruction that, relying on their own forces, with initiative, militant creative and practical spirit, they work untiringly to give the economy new product of the mass consumption of high quality at the lowest possible expenditure and to fulfill ever better the growing demands of the people.

#### Carcani Continues Visit

AU201452 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 20 May 85

[Text] Tirana, 20 May--In continuation of his visits to Gjirokaster district, the member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers Comrade Adil Carcani and the comrades accompanying him met with cooperativists and working people of the region of Lunxheria, yesterday before noon.

At the big rally organized in the Dhoksat village of the "Lunxheria" Agricultural Enterprise, Comrade Adil Carcani greeted those present in the name of the Central Committee of the party and of the first secretary of the Central Committee of the party Comrade Ramiz Alia personally. The beloved leader of the party and people Comrade Enver Hoxha had a special respect and love for the beautiful and hospitable Lunxheria, for the brave and industrial people of Lunxheria, he said among others. Then Comrade Adil Carcani pointed out that this region has brought up men of the pen and rifle, outstanding fighters of the Albanian language and school, men of knowledge and culture as well as heroes of the national liberation war, whose deed will always be a source of inspiration for the generations.

Further on he spoke of the great transformations made in this region where the people have added beauties of the hands and minds to the beauties of nature. Congratulating them for the achievements, Comrade Adil Carcani underlined in continuation that in this region the state will continue to make great investments so that the hill [as received] become more fertile and nicer.

Comrade Adil Carcani spoke of the new prospects opened before our country over the 8th Five Year Plan, the new projects to be set up relying completely on our forces. A sound basis for the successful realization of the great tasks, he said in conclusion, is the untiring work of our people, the steel unity of the people round the party, its Central Committee with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head.

Comrade Adil Carcani was seen off with love by the inhabitants of that zone.

#### Carcani Speaks to Cadres

AU191548 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 19 May 85

[Article: "Comrade Adil Carcani Meets with Cadres of the District of Gjirokaster"]

[Text] The member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Council of Ministers Comrade Adil Carcani had a meeting with cadres of the organs of the party, state power, economy and mass organizations, veterans, militarymen of Gjirokaster district.

Attending this meeting was also the chairman of the national committee of the war veterans of the Albanian people, Comrade Shefqet Peci.

The first secretary of the district party committee Elmaz Puto informed Comrade Adil Carcani of the mobilization and the achievements of the working people of the district of Gjirokaster in fulfilling the tasks of the plan, the further revolutionarization of the life of grass root organizations of the party and the increase of the vanguard role of the communists.

Then, Comrade Adil Carcani took the floor. He said among the other things that the loss of Comrade Enver was the gravest and utmost loss we have suffered during this glorious period of struggle and effort of the party and people for freedom and socialism. With the name and deed of Comrade Enver Hoxha are linked the greatest historic victories of our people: the founding of the party, the liberation of the country and the establishment of the people's power, the construction of the new socialist Albania, the respected name and high prestige our country enjoys today on the international arena. During the visits and meetings we saw the great courage of the valiant and patriotic people of Gjirokaster, who just as the whole people, turned the grief into strength, into a greater mobilization and determination to carry always forward the brilliant revolutionary deed of Comrade Enver Hoxha. An unprecedented mobilization, initiatives, powerful revolutionary undertakings and movements have burst out far and wide the country, [as received] one notices a great readiness to undertake greater tasks.

The struggle to realize the great tasks we are faced with, the initiatives and the pledges undertaken by the working class and cooperativist peasantry leads to the further consolidation of economy. A strong and stable economy, that develops at relatively high rates, such as our economy set up on the toil and sweat of our industrious people, according to the light giving teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha constitutes the basis and the guarantee not only for a better life of the people, which is the fundamental aim of our party, but it is at the same time a basis for a strong defense.

Further on Comrade Adil Carcani dwelt on the tasks facing us to realize and overfulfill the plan in all the economic and financial indexes, to further increase the efficiency of production.

After pointing out the lofty spirit of mobilization of the working people of industry and agriculture, Comrade Adil Carcani underlined the tasks the agricultural working people are faced with to realize successfully the seasonal work, the harvesting-threshing campaign to implement the decision of the council of ministers. Inseparable from this, he said is the work to implement the very important decision of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party to strengthen the nutritions base which constitutes a key factor to increase the production of milk and meat and generally for the good development of the livestock.

In conclusion Comrade Adil Carcani expressed the conviction of the Central Committee of the Party and the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Party Comrade Ramiz Alia personally that Gjirokaster, the birthplace of our great leader and teacher will be in the van of the districts to realize the great tasks set by the party.

#### Carcani Speaks at Mashkullore, Dropull Rallies

AU191605 Tirana ATA in English 0920 GMT 19 May 85

[Article: "Comrade Adil Carcani Meets with the People in Mashkullore and Dropull"]

[Text] The member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Adil Carcani went among the people of the regions of Kardhiq and Dropull i Siperim, on 18 May.

In the village of Mashkullore, Comrade Adil Carcani was received with love by hundreds of inhabitants and cooperativists of this zone. Comrade Adil Carcani and the other comrades laid bouquets of flowers on the monument to Cerciz Topulli and his brave Cetta [guerrillas].

Under the shadow of the century long and historic plane tree where the people of Mashkullore have talked with the beloved leader of the party and people, Comrade Enver, a rally was organized.

Taking the floow at this rally, Comrade Adil Carcani said that for the inhabitants of the region of Kardhiq and particularly for those of Mashkulllore the unforgettable meetings with the respected leader Comrade Enver Hoxha, the very warm and intimate talks, his very valuable advice and instruction will remain indelible. After speaking of the distinguished patriotic traditions and of the work of the people of this region, Comrade Adil Carcani congratulated the cooperativists, who turning the grief over the loss of the glorious leader and legendary commander, Comrade Enver into strength, have further increased their mobilization and offensive spirit to fulfill better the tasks as an economy specialized in the live stock production, to elevate the wellbeing of the people and to strengthen the economy. Comrade Shefqet Peci too spoke at this warm meeting.

Comrade Adil Carcani was seen off with love by the people of this region.

The inhabitants of Dobrishta, of the "lesh pal cupi" agricultural cooperative of Dropull i Siperm and together with them hundreds of cooperativists, veterans, young boys and girls from Dropull i Poshtem and Pogon region, enthusiastically welcomed Comrade Adil Carcani and the other comrades accompanying him on 18 May, in the afternoon. They gathered in the square where the beloved leader of the party and people Comrade Enver Hoxha has had a cheek by jowl meeting with the people of Dropull, in June 1959.

The rally organized on the occasion was declared open by the secretary of the Party Bureau of the "llesh pal cupi" agricultural cooperative, Theodhori Komini. "We, he said among other things, have experienced different (misnor-;) tunes in the past, sufferings and starvation, bad news from our people in emigration, but we the people of Dropull, just as the whole Albanian people experienced the greatest pain with the death of Comrade Enver, because we lost the man who gave us life, who brought us from darkness into light, our respected leader and teacher, the most beloved man of our hearts", likewise, representatives of the agricultural cooperatives of Dropull i Poshtem and of the region of Pogon, with heart felt words spoke of the special care of the party and the constant concern of the people of minority.

Taking the floor, Comrade Adil Carcani brought to the people of the region of Dropull and all the people of minority the greetings of the Central Committee of the Party, and of the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, Comrade Ramiz Alia personally. The party, and Comrade Enver Hoxha, he said among the other things, have always highly evaluated the people of the minority who shed their blood in the war parallel with the Albanian people and today they are pouring out their sweat in the socialist construction of the country. Albanians and people of the minority, linked together like flesh to bone, fought together, won together and live happy in the socialist homeland. We rejoice that the minority flourishes just as the entire

Albania, we rejoice that one finds the sons and daughters of the minority here and far and wide the country as leading cadres, specialists and talented workers.

Comrade Adil Carcani spoke also of the friendship binding the Albanian people with the Greek people. Our government, he said, has been and is for relations of good neighborliness between the two countries and notices with pleasure that the great government too wants such a thing.

In conclusion, Comrade Adil Carcani expressed his conviction that the people of Dropull, under the leadership of the party will carry still forward the victories attained in all the fields of life.

Comrade Adil Carcani left Bodrishta seen off with love by the people of Dropull.

CSO: 2020/129

ALBANIA

ATA VIEWS FIRST FOUND OF GENEVA TALKS

AU051321 Tirana ATA in English 0915 GMT 5 May 85

[Article: "The USA and the Soviet Union need the talks on 'disarmament' to legalize their armament--article of the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT"]

[Text] The newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT carries an article under the above title, which says among the other things: the bilateral talks of Geneva, which ended yielding no result, revealed once again that the USA and the Soviet Union do not hold talks on disarmament, but on armament. To this influences not only the "lack of the desire" of one or the other side, as they accuse each other now, but also the policy of the USA and the Soviet Union which aims at the feverish armament and legalization of the armament race and their supremacy in the field of arms.

All their previous talks allegedly on the reduction and arms limitation have been accompanied with new levels and aspects of armament. This also occurred with the present Geneva talks that were held after a 15 month suspension to which was added the program on the "Star Wars". In this way the talks on "disarmament" were enriched with another item, with that of the military action of space, besides those of strategic weapons and middle range nuclear missiles. On the other hand, at a time when the delegation of the two sides gathered in Geneva to find out the roads of "disarmament", the Pentagon approved the sum of 26 billion dollars to realize the program of the "Star Wars", while the Soviet Union was engaged in constructing 24 launching-pads of new SS-25 nuclear missiles.

In this way the Geneva bargains serve neither peace nor disarmament, on the contrary they serve the warmongering and aggressive policy of the two superpowers. Socialist Albania has constantly denounced and in time them, because they have not expressed and never express the interests of the peoples.

CSO: 2020/129

ALBANIA

CERRAVA READS AWP CC MESSAGE

AU151234 Tirana ATA in English 1000 GMT 15 May 85

[Text] 40 years are completed since the day of the creation of the people's police service, a dear service to the party and people. On this occasion, the party committee of the district of Tirana and the ministry of home affairs organized a solemn meeting in the capital on 14 May afternoon.

Attending were working people, veterans and cadres of this service, members of the groups of voluntary cooperation, militarymen, social activities and other invitees.

Present were also the member of the political bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and Minister of Home Affairs, Comrade Hekuran Isai, the alternative member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers Comrade Besnik Bekteshi, the alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and first secretary of the party committee of the district of Tirana Comrade Foto Cami, the secretary of the Central Committee of the Party Vangjel Cerrava and other comrades.

The meeting was opened by Comrade Foto Cami.

The effective of the peoples police [phrase as received], he said among others, under the leadership of the party, its central committee with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head in the future too will put all its forces and will spare nothing to prevent, uncover and hit in time every hostile and ill-intentioned activity.

In token of honor and profound respect for the brilliant deed and unforgettable memory of Comrade Enver Hoxha, those present rose on feet and kept two minute silence.

Comrade Vangjel read out the greeting of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party Comrade Ramiz Alia addressed to the working people of people's police service on occasion of the 40th anniversary of its creation.

In the name of the Central Committee of the Party I greet on occasion of the 40th anniversary of the creation of your service.

This year you commemorate this important event in the history of our organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat with the profound grief that the passing away of our unforgettable leader, teacher and educator, the general commander of the armed forces, Comrade Enver Hoxha caused. Just like the entire people, in steel unity round the party and under its leadership, you have turned this grief into strength and revolutionary determination to realize ever better your duties.

The history of the police service, dear service of the party and people, just like of all the other armed forces of our country is closely linked with the deed of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha and begins since the years of the national liberation war with the partisan commands and those of the country.

Under the direct care of the party during these 40 years people's police has gained a great experience in carrying out successfully the delicate and special tasks it is charged with. Your contribution to the defence of the people's power and the victories attained in the socialist construction and the continuous consolidation of our social order is important. The Central Committee of the Party congratulates you for the results you have attained and the good work you have done.

Further on the message says:

The defence of the socialist social order, the defence of the life, property and personal and family tranquility of the citizens are part and parcel of the class struggle in national and international scale. The present stage of development, the construction and defence of socialism in the conditions of the savage imperialist-revisionist encirclement and the situation developing in the world lay before you new greater tasks.

Let us not forget at any moment that the counterrevolutionary and plotting activity of the permanent imperialist, social-imperialist revisionist and chauvinistic enemies of all hues, the attempts of the internal and external enemies to weaken and undermine the people's power, its economic basis, the party-people unity, to impair the victories achieved in all the fields of life, to poison our mode of living by attacking our nice customs and traditions, have not stopped and will never stop.

Your untiring work, the message says further on creates for the working masses the necessary conditions so that they work with all their mental and physical force to realize ahead of time and over fulfill the tasks of the plan, a basis this to carry forward the economy and the general well-being of our people.

The Central Committee of the Party expresses its full conviction that the effect of people's police, just like until now, led by the party and the works and immortal teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, in the future too, will keep aloft the spirit of vigilance, will work with mobilization, exemplary revolutionary and patriotic devotion and consciousness, to carry to the letter the tasks it is charged with.

The greeting was received with applauses and acclamations by those present.

Then the vice-minister of home affairs, Ilir Mustafaraj held the speech on the occasion. He said among others that the organs of people's police, in close relations with the people, in these 40 years of the people's power have a rich balance sheet of victories and successes in the increase and all sided consolidation of the political, ideological, military and professional training. Through its struggle and work, police has gained, increased and strengthened ever more the faith love and respect of the people.

Then the floor was taken by the vice-president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly Comrade Xhafer Spahiu, who handed over the high decoration "order of freedom, first class" that the presidium of the people's assembly has awarded to the people's police service on occasion of the 40th anniversary of its creation, as a service that has fought with bravery and great loyalty in defence of the people's power and the victories attained and for the continuous consolidation of the socialist juridical order.

A message was sent to the Central Committee from the solemn meeting.

CSO: 2020/129

ALBANIA

ISAI ATTENDS POLICE FORCE ANNIVERSARY

AU141134 Tirana ATA in English 0925 CMT 14 Mar 85

[Text] In the context of the 40th anniversary of the creation of the People's Police Service, veterans and cadres of the service, militarymen, members of the groups of voluntary cooperation went to the Martyrs' Graves of the Nation on 13 May before noon and laid wreaths at the "Mother Albania" monument. They paid also homage to the grave of the beloved leader of the party and people, the Commander and legendary leader of the National Liberation Comrad Enver Hoxha.

In the context of this anniversary, a jubilee session was organized in Tirana. Attending it were also the member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party and Minister of Home Affairs Comrade Hekurain Isai and other comrades.

The session was declared open by the member of the Central Committee of the Party and Director of Department of Home Affairs of Tirana Agron Tafa.

Those present stand on foot and keep 2 minute silence in token of honor for the unforgettable memory of the deed of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The report "The People's Police Service created and led by the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, powerfully based on the people, has worked to realize with success the charged tasks" was held by the director of the Department of Police at the Ministry of Home Affairs, Dilaver Bengasi. Six papers were also read out.

In the context of this jubilee, a photo exhibition devoted to the 40th anniversary of the creation of this service was opened.

The photos displayed showed aspects from the meetings of Comrade Enver Hoxha with working people of People's Police, from the ideological, political and military training and the close ties of the working people of this service with the people, etc.

CSO: 2020/128

ALBANIA

BRIEFS

REAGAN VISITS PROJECTS--The news agencies report that the U.S. President, Reagan, during his visit to West Germany visited the graves of the "SS" Nazi soldiers in Bitburg, about 100 km from Bonn, and laid a wreath there. As it has been reported, numerous protests have been made in different cities of West Germany and in different countries of Europe against Reagan's visit to the graves of the Nazi soldiers, the culprits for the savage crimes against the European peoples. The participants, former prisoners in the concentration camps, members of the anti-Nazi resistance, antifascists, etc. have denounced on this occasion the criminal activity of the Hitlerite army against the peoples, describing Reagan's visit as a "fun of the victims of the Hitlerites". [Text] [Tirana ATA in English 1720 GMT 6 May 85]

HOMAGE PAID TO HOXHA--On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of victory over fascism, the diplomatic corps accredited to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania laid a wreath and paid homage at the grave of Enver Hoxha, the leader of the Albanian people, and at the Martyrs of the Nation Cemetery. The ceremony last attended by Muhamet Kapllani, deputy minister of foreign affairs; and Jovan Antoni, chief of the Protocol Branch of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [Text] [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1330 GMT 9 May 85]

DELEGATION RETURNS FROM AUSTRIA--The delegation of the National Committee of the War Veterans of the Albanian People, led by Comrade Lazar Siliqi, which attended the memorial ceremony organized in the former Nazi Camp of extermination in Mauthausen of Austria on occasion of the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism, returned home on 9 May. The delegation was welcomed at the airport by the secretary general of the National Committee of the War Veterans of the Albanian people Myqerem Fuga and other comrades. [Text] [Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 10 May 85]

CSO: 2020/129

26 June 1985

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

## CZECHOSLOVAK EXPOSITION OPENS IN MOSCOW

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 May 85 p 1

[Article: "Final Preparations"]

[Excerpt] Moscow (from our correspondent)--Only a few more tens of hours separate the organizers and creators of the jubilee exposition entitled "Czechoslovakia 1985" in Moscow from its festive opening. In Pavilion No 1, the largest at the Exposition of Successes of the National Economy of the USSR, final work on the interior space of the huge glassed-in hall and the wide area in front of it are under way. Here, construction machinery, agricultural machinery, automobiles, small aircraft and other attractive exhibits will be located.

The exposition will be initiated on Friday, 31 May, with the participation of leading Czechoslovak and Soviet representatives. The first tens of thousands of Muscovites will pass through the gates of the exposition on the following day. Even today, the interest of the local public in this most extensive political-cultural action on the part of Czechoslovakia within the framework of the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of our country by the Soviet Army is apparent; interest in viewing the successes of socialist Czechoslovakia over the past four decades and the fruits of broad Czechoslovak-Soviet collaboration in a number of areas.

Fifteen years ago, our exhibition to honor the 25th anniversary of the liberation, which was held in the same pavilion, was attended by a record 1.3 million people. Soviet journalists, who, within the framework of Wednesday's press conference had the opportunity to carefully view the entire exposition, did not conceal their wonderment and were not sparing in their words of praise for the creators of the original complex of individual topical exhibits which demonstrate, in a clear, lucid and all-round manner the artistry and dexterity of our people, the contribution of socialist integration and cooperation with the Soviet Union within the framework of CEMA.

A firm component of the program of the 1-month-long Czechoslovakia 1985 exposition is formed by a bilateral 4-day seminar on questions of scientific-technical development and a 1-day working session between our specialists and

Soviet specialists from various areas, such as the areas of electronics and automation.

At the heart of the exhibition pavilion, in close proximity to the entrance foyer, which is decorated with the portraits of G. Husak and M. Gorbachev, the state flags of both countries and a giant glass map of Czechoslovakia, two independent halls have been created, among other exhibits. One of them, on the ground floor, was tellingly dubbed Druzba. Over a period of 30 days, this will be the meeting place between our pioneers and Soviet pioneers and cosmonauts Remek and Gubarev, sports figures, members of youth organizations of both fraternal countries, Soviet veterans of the Great Patriotic War with members of our Union of Antifascist Fighters, delegations of the League of Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship with friends from various regions of the USSR, etc.

The appearances of our artistic collectives and soloists will surely be of great interest to the visitors. During the first week, the upstairs hall, which seats 260 persons, will be the site of concerts by J. Laufer, K. Zich, the Cimbalovka Ostravica Ensemble and others.

According to preliminary estimates, the exposition, which covers an area of 23,500 square meters (including 6,000 square meters of outdoor area in front of the pavilion) will require a minimum of 2 hours to view. All areas of the exposition will be staffed by hostesses or directly by workers from enterprises producing a given installation or machine who will provide detailed information to visitors.

5911  
CSO: 2400/430

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

#### NEED FOR COMPETITIVENESS CONSIDERED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Apr 85 p 3

[Article by Michal Rizak: "What Kind of Competition?"]

[Text] It is not polite to listen to other people's conversations, but these two were sitting just opposite to me on the train and were talking loudly. It was therefore impossible not to overhear them. They were saying that in our country we are lacking competition. We--meaning the socialist economy--and under competition they understood private enterprise and entrepreneurs. Everybody would have to "hop to it" differently, try much harder.

The fact is that in our country not everybody "hops to it" as he should. A lot of working time is wasted--and not only by gabbing while drinking beer. But the talk about the need of competition missed the heart of the matter. We should be glad that we are lacking a ruthless capitalist competition eliminating the weaker one, getting richer while running the other and therefore purposely tripping him up. Such a competition is not worth it. We have, once and for all, put a stop to the beastly laws of exploitation.

The word competition, however, is not responsible for the content private enterprising gave it and it would be unreasonable to throw out the baby with the bath water. We do, indeed, need competition in our country. But what kind and where?

Maybe there where foremen, directors and other managing personnel organize work badly, manage it irresponsibly, do not control it properly, condone bad discipline and indifference. In all such places then the great achievement of socialism--the right to work--enables parasites and negligent people to sponge upon the honest work of others. Full employment, feeling of assured existence and knowledge that work is always available become a blissful shelter for absenteeism and laziness. And as long as people are not really enthusiastic about their activity and specialty, are inadequately motivated and materially insufficiently interested and moreover badly guided, they are not fully exploiting their working time and do not render all they could--to put it shortly, they are paid for what they did not do.

And this is exactly where a certain competitiveness (the word contest could also be used here) would be useful. Not a ruthless capitalist competition of enterprises, concerns and trusts, but a competitiveness of human abilities, skills, enthusiasm and taste to tackle even the most tricky problem.

For example, somebody becomes a foreman, an assistant manager or a director. In most cases it is because he was among the best in his previous position. After a certain time however, it became obvious that the formerly excellent worker is a foreman without authority, unable to acquire it. Or that a capable scientific staff member in a managerial position cannot lead either people or production. To overlook or excuse the inadequacies of such leading officials is impossible. You did not qualify? Thank you for the effort, for all you have done, but it is not enough for development. It is shortsighted to seek for those who did not qualify as managers another leading position, to let them another "feathered bed" as the saying goes. Return where you have been useful and you will be useful again.

People do not condone parasitism on the humanism of our institutions should be chosen as heads of working collectives, productions, factories and enterprises. Our aim is the prosperity of all working people, not only of some to the detriment of others. If we intend to settle accounts with backwardness, if we want to consistently intensify production, accelerate scientific and technical progress, increase quality of work--and we want all this--then we have to require more from people. This is impossible without a firm discipline, honest and conscientious work of everybody. A competition in human ability, productivity, creative thinking, zeal, ingenuity and general competitiveness should become a self-evident driving force of social progress.

When people are recalled from a function, they often consider it a personal offense. They try to find all possible ways how to prove that somebody else is guilty of worse results or they start to spin a spider's web of acquaintances and "uncles." Thus they may sometimes keep "the seat" without even realizing that they are building a house on paper foundations. They stay, but for those around them they are written off. A manager without natural authority emanating from his capability, without the art of directing even the smallest collective, sinks into his own impotence and becomes a drag. Such working place can be detected mostly at first sight. Apart from worse results, the atmosphere feels stifling, nervous and the relationships are insincere.

And yet, not much is necessary to realize that it is only natural that leading functions are not bestowed upon people forever, at any price. A recall is not--and should not be--a humiliating act. It does not, indeed, concern only the individual and his personal advantages, but a nationwide interest to set forth the best knowledge, ability and application. A well understood cadre activity can never consider the replacement of less able people by better ones as a hardship. Everybody should do in life what he knows best, to the benefit of the whole society and thus also to the individual, a person honest and honorable toward himself cannot, after all, find satisfaction in an activity to which he does not measure up.

Every year thousands of specialists graduate from many different schools. Through the years, by life experience, they mature not only in their profession, but politically as well. This is only natural. The socialist society needs universal, thoroughbred experts, not narrow-minded specialists who see only their own field and are not interested in what is happening around them. And it would be unwise not to choose the best from among those thousands.

In each enterprise and institution, there are active basic organizations of the party, the trade unions, people may discuss openly how they are managed, if the most modern technology is used or if they are shuffling from one foot to another or even falling behind.

It is up to the "competitiveness" of human abilities, whether the party groups choose the right manager, whether they propose the best of the committee of the fundamental organization, whether the trade unionists find efficient section heads and committee members. To be able to manage the collective, instigate and regulate its activity, to be unafraid to point out errors and fight for the right thing. To create an atmosphere of high demands from managers and all workers.

Such competition--the choice of the most capable people--we should not fear. It benefits the whole society.

12707  
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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

NUCLEAR ENERGY PREFERRED

Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 3 Apr 85 p 11

[Article by Hannes Burger datelined Prague, end of March: "Prague is Betting on Nuclear Power"]

[Text] Representatives of the CSSR government usually go on the defensive right away when the topic of environmental protection is discussed. They are used to the fact that in Western Europe, especially in the FRG, the CSSR is constantly denounced as being one of the worst air polluters. The CSSR in no way denies that it produces great quantities of harmful pollutants. After all this practice had already caused considerable damage in Czech forests even if not all symptoms of the dying forest vegetation in different areas are the result of acid rain. The public outcry against smog, and the damage caused by exhaust gases to buildings, especially in older parts of the cities, and to historic monuments cannot be overlooked either.

However, the CSSR was justified in denying that it exports more air pollution than it imports. The CSSR said that it does produce a high percentage of pollutants in the air; but because the winds from the west surpass those coming from the east by a ratio of 70 to 30, export and import of dirty air with the FRG and the Benelux countries just about balance out for the CSSR. In regard to the GDR, the CSSR is even at a considerable disadvantage because there are many more north-west winds than south-east winds.

But all these statistics only serve the purpose of fending off complaints and reproaches. Today there is no doubt in the CSSR that this is a serious problem that reaches beyond national boundaries and can be solved only in cooperation with all neighboring countries.

In addition, the Prague Ministry for Fuel and Energy points out that the CSSR has not been ignoring the problem of air pollution up to now, even if there have been no public discussions about it. Rather, attempts have been made to decrease damage caused by smog and exhaust gases for more than 15 years now. But there were a number of real problems to deal with. Also, the CSSR has had from the beginning long-range goals that do not depend on timely media campaigns and public protests, as they do in the West.

The Ministry for Fuel and Energy acknowledges openly that it is the biggest producer of harmful pollutants in the CSSR. Last year, the CSSR promised in an international agreement to reduce air pollution by 30 percent before 1993. By this time, the program to desulphurize exhaust gases is expected to clean the air of approximately 300,000 tons of sulphur dioxide. Environment experts of the energy ministry realize, though, that of this amount 80 percent will have to be cleaned up especially by the coal burning power plants and long-distance heating plants under their jurisdiction.

Among the real problems is the fact that on the one hand the energy policy of the CSSR is based essentially on domestic raw materials and that, on the other hand, domestic coal has certain negative characteristics. Some of the fuel components have not been exactly analyzed to this day and there are, in any case, problems with ammonium sulphates. Since the sixties experiments have been carried out with domestic filter systems and with filters from socialist neighbors, but with little success. Meanwhile, several filter systems from Western countries were tested, including some from the FRG, but because of the particular problems with Czech coal no satisfactory solution has yet been found that would lead to a decision in favor of standardized equipment with one particular system.

All of the electric power plants put in operation after 1980 have by now been desulphurized and in this process different methods are being tested. The largest coal burning power plant in Northern Bohemia, e.g., is desulphurized by the regeneration method in which sulphuric acid can also be produced. In addition, the so-called "dry additive method," in which with the help of ground limestone sour gases are changed into solid form, is being tested. For this year Prime Minister Strougal has announced the considerable investment of approximately 2 billion kronen (about DM 500 million) to speed up the desulphurization of coal burning power plants and coal-fueled industrial plants.

The Ministry for Energy, however, does not deny that thus far the government has been in no hurry to equip power plants with imported filter systems. The real reason that until now not too much attention and effort has been given to desulphurization must be considered the fact that absolute priority was given to the development of nuclear power. Of the 17,500 megawatts of electricity produced today in the CSSR 35 percent is expected to be produced by nuclear power after the completion of the nuclear power program. This is expected to result in a far-reaching reduction of air pollution because the over-all use of coal burning power plants will decline and especially because old power plants that cannot be modernized will then be shut down.

In the CSSR there is no opposition to the peaceful use of atomic energy. This is so not only because it would be unthinkable for either the press or public initiatives to come out publicly against the government's energy policy in a communist state. Rather, there is within the population neither a rationally founded objection to the alleged radioactive dangers caused by nuclear power plants, nor are there irrational fears of nuclear power. Also there are no problems in regard to the final storage or reprocessing of nuclear fuel in the country itself because these tasks were taken over by the Soviet Union.

The people of Czechoslovakia, who can watch German television in the western part of the country or Austrian television in the southern part, generally follow without much understanding the sometimes violent objections to nuclear energy voiced with considerable emotional effort in the neighboring countries. The reason for this lack of understanding is that in the CSSR there is in regard to environmental protection a growing attitude opposing the air pollution caused by traditional coal burning heating plants--either in power plants or in individual homes. This opposition is articulated by local and regional party organizations but has as its primary goal--in contrast to such countries as the FRG--the demand for expansion of the use of nuclear energy. This expansion is to result not only in the production of clean energy but the heat energy produced as byproduct is to be used in the best possible way so that private coal consumption can be decreased by supplying the cities with long-distance heat.

For this reason too the people do not object to nuclear power plant sites located within 20 to 30 km from larger cities. The city of Ceske Budejovice, e.g., is by now using to a large extent long-distance heat produced in a nuclear power plant, and the city of Brno will soon be connected to the same kind of system. The historic center of Prague is likewise to get relief from air pollution produced by private homes. Houses there are to be changed over to gas heat or will be hooked up to long-distance heating plants that are easier to equip with filter systems than thousands of individual chimneys in the old part of town.

A few weeks ago in Prague, there was a large exhibit on environmental protection--sponsored jointly by the FRG state North Rhine-Westphalia and FRG firms. The symposia held at this exhibit and the very informative talks given by German experts encountered a great deal of approval in the CSSR. It is hoped that from the intensive continuation of just this kind of discussion by experts and from the exchange of expert opinions beyond national borders Prague will find a quicker solution for common environmental problems.

There is no separate ministry for environmental questions in Prague. In addition to the energy ministry there are other departments--from the Ministry for Agriculture and Forestry to the Ministry for Industry--that deal with certain aspects of environmental protection. But the State Commission for Technical Investment and Development chaired by an assistant prime minister is in charge of coordinating environmental policy within the government.

8889  
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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

ANTONOV TRIAL SERVES WEST--The trial against the accused of participation in the preparations of an assassination attempt on Pope John Paul II in 1981, among whom are unjustly included Sergey Antonov and another two Bulgarian citizens, is the focus of the Bulgarian Public's attention. Ladislav Sakal reports from Sofia: [Sakal] It is unbelievable, the newspaper RABOTNICHESKO DELO writes today, that the Turkish terrorist who has been proved to be misleading continues to hoodwink the court and the public with his inventions. The fact that he introduced himself as Jesus Christ and that he prophesied the end of the world was not just an insult to the court but also an indictment of those who manipulated Ali Agca. Yesterday he ridiculed the Italian court through his testimony by behaving like a clown and ending his testimony like a knockabout boxer. Agca's manipulators are attempting to make use of the Rome trial to slander not only Bulgaria and the Soviet Union but also other socialist countries. The course of the trial to date shows that the Roman court does not have a single proof of the guilt of Sergey Antonov and despite this the trial continues. It is clear that the trial serves the murky goals of the Western special services, in particular the American CIA, to use every possible means to slander socialist countries and accuse them of international terrorism. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 12 Jun 85]

KABRHELOVA DISCUSSES WOMEN'S DECADE--Marie Kabrhelova, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat and chairman of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Union of Women, informed journalists in Prague today about the realization of the goals of the "UN Decade for Women." She said the goals of the decade have become part of the everyday activity of the Czechoslovak Union of Women. The union has deepened an open dialogue with the representatives of women's peace organizations and antiwar organizations and with women's organizations from capitalist and developing countries. Marie Kabrhelova said that to mark the end of the UN Decade a world conference of the UN Organization for Women is to take place in Nairobi, Kenya, at the end of July; it will be preceded by a forum of nongovernmental organizations. At both gatherings members of the Czechoslovak delegation will report on the results achieved in the last 10 years in Czechoslovakia in further improving the position of women and the lives of their families [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 13 Jun 85]

CSSR-AUSTRIAN FRONTIER COMMISSION--The 20th session of the Standing Czechoslovak-Austrian Frontier Commission ended in Prague. It discussed technical documentation about the results of surveying and designation work on the state borders, particularly the setting up of triangulation points which both sides did together last year. The frontier commission worked out a work program for the next period according to which, apart from the setting up of triangulations points, the second joint testing and upkeep of frontier marks set out in the interstate agreement will begin. At the same time, the commission agreed on measures for unavoidable setting out, surveying, and marking of state borders in areas where waterways are regulated by water management. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1500 GMT 13 Jun 85]

COMPUTER TECHNOLOGY SECTION OPENED--The joint computer technology section was opened today in the computing department of the electronics faculty of the Bohemian University of Technology [CVUT]. It is equipped with three SM4 20 computers and the modern Soviet-made SM4 20 computer. This system with a built-in local and long distance terminal network will serve in particular for the education of graduates of the electronics faculty of the CVUT as well as young experts from other sectors of the national economy. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 13 Jun 85]

NICARAGUAN TRADE UNIONISTS--Miroslav Spaniel, secretary of the Central Trade Union Council, met on 3 June at the Antonin Zapotocky Revolutionary Trade Union Movement [ROH] Central School in Neratovice with 20 trade unionists of the Sandinist Center of the Working People of Nicaragua (CST), who are undergoing a 6-week course there devoted to the all-round activity of the ROH in building socialism. The stay of the Nicaraguans in the CSSR is being paid for from the ROH's International Solidarity Fund. [Summary] [Prague PRACE in Czech 4 Jun 85 p 1]

IDEOLOGICAL COUNCIL SET UP--The constituting meeting of the Council of the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences for the Study of Ideological Issues was held in Prague on Wednesday [5 June]. Its chairman is Ladislav Hrzal, corresponding member of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. The participants in the meeting discussed the tasks of the council and the plan of work for the upcoming period. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Jun 85 p 2]

INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATIONS CONFERENCE--The statewide conference "Telecommunications 1985" began in Brno on 5 June. The conference is attended by 350 experts from the CSSR, Denmark, Finland, Yugoslavia, the FRG, Poland, Austria, Sweden, and Switzerland. The purpose of the conference is to acquaint the participants with new trends and equipment in telecommunications, with problems of digitalization, and other important matters. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Jun 85 p 2]

AFGHAN DELEGATION DEPARTS--A 20-member group of "workers" of the National Patriotic Front of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, which attended a 6-week course in Czechoslovakia dealing with the experience of Czechoslovak social organizations, sponsored by the CSSR National Front, left by air for home on Monday [3 June]. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Jun 85 p 2]

PORtUGUESE CONSULTATIONS--Czechoslovak-Portuguese interministerial consultations took place in Prague on Friday [31 May]. Jaromir Johanes, CSSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, and Ribeiro Menenez, deputy general director for political affairs at the Portuguese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, exchanged views on current problems of the international situation, discussed the present state of Czechoslovak-Portuguese relations, and assessed the possibilities of their further development. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Jun 85 p 3]

CSSR-MOROCCAN CONSULTATIONS--Prague (CTK)--Omar Belkhoura [spelling as published], head of the UROPEAN section of the Moroccan Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who took part in Czechoslovak-Moroccan interministerial consultations, has been received by Stanislav Svoboda, deputy minister of foreign affairs. They assessed the current state of relations between the CSSR and Morocco and the possibilities of their development and exchanged views on current international problems. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 May 85 p 2]

VISITING DOMINICAN CP DELEGATION--A "study" delegation of the Dominican Communist Party, headed by Pedro Juan Persia, member of the Political Commission and secretary of the Dominican Communist Party Central Committee, arrived in the CSSR on 28 May at the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee. During their stay, the members of the delegation will study the experience acquired by the CPCZ. In the course of constructing the socialist society and acquaint themselves with the results of the Czechoslovak people's construction efforts in various spheres of life. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 29 May 85 p 2]

TRADE TALKS WITH JAPAN--Jaromir Obsina, CSSR deputy premier and chairman of the State Commission for Research, Development, and Investment Promotion, who is currently paying a visit to Japan, toured the EXPO-85 international exhibition in Tsukuba on 28 May. Obzina inspected the Soviet and Japanese pavillions and "then continued talks with representatives of prominent Japanese industrial and trade circles." [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 29 May 85 p 7]

DOUBRAVA DISASTER CLAIMS MORE VICTIMS--Prague (CTK)--The Federal Ministry of Fuels and Power and the Czech Mining Office announced that the fire which broke out in the Doubrava Mine in the Ostrava-Karvina coal basin on 7 May, as a result of an explosion in the mine's 37th seam, has been brought under control [lokalizovan]. However, extraordinarily difficult conditions and the raging fire have made it impossible to free the remaining 17 employees enclosed in the mine, who have died. Work on recovering their bodies and liquidating the consequences of the explosion intensively continues. The causes of the disaster are being investigated by a commission of mining experts. To alleviate the consequences of the disaster, the CSSR Government Presidium has taken measures to safeguard the material and social security of the families of affected miners. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 May 85 p 2]

AGCA, GREY WOLVES, CIA CONNECTION--The Bulgarian public is following closely reports from Rome, where the trial continues in which three Bulgarian citizens are accused of allegedly taking part in the assassination attempt on the pope in May 1981. Ladislav Sakal reports from Sofia: The Bulgarian press today also reports in detail on the curse of the trial in Rome. The daily OTECHESTVEN FRONT published a commentary entitled "The Grey Wolf Agca Faces the Trial Again." It quotes the assertion by the American magazine (?COVERT ACTION) that there is no doubt that the assassination was staged by a fascist Turkish organization Grey Wolves which maintains close contact with the American CIA. The contact between the CIA and the Grey Wolves is maintained by a department for special operations by the Turkish General Staff which was, for a certain time in Ankara, even situated in the same building as the American Military Mission. It is well known that the CIA is the inspiration of the so-called Bulgarian trail in the assassination attempt on the pope in May 1981. The whole Antonov case is a classic case of a misinformation campaign and by means of this, public opinion is intended to turn not only against Bulgaria but against the whole of the socialist community. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 6 Jun 85 LD]

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26 June 1985

HUNGARY

## MSZMP CONFERENCE EXAMINES SOCIALIST/NATIONAL ANTIPATHY

Szekesfehervar FEJER MEGYEI HIRLAP in Hungarian 6 Apr 85

[Article by Geza Kiss: "A Contribution to the History of Socialist National Awareness"; summary of a lecture presented at the 21 Feb 85 theoretical conference sponsored by the Fejer Megye MSZMP Educational Directorate]

[Text] The point in time when the working class organized itself into a social class was an important milestone also in the history of the development of national awareness. This is the patriotism of a class that, due to its objective situation, is able to solve its own liberation only jointly with the liberation of the entire people, and whose own advancement is inseparable from that of the nation. At the same time this struggle of the working class, its national existence and destiny, became inseparable from the struggle and destiny of other peoples: once the working class appeared on the scene, the struggle for national advancement became well defined internationally as well. There arrived a new stage in the nation's development, the stage of becoming a socialist nation.

Nevertheless, this new national awareness was branded unpatriotic immediately. And because even today, in their basic message, the anticommunist critiques of socialism go back to these roots, it will be worthwhile to dwell on this question in greater detail. It cannot be regarded as unnatural that the then ruling classes branded the working-class movement as something foreign to the "popular mind," devoid of national character, or outright betrayal of one's nation: from the viewpoint of their national awareness and retrograde nationalism, the working-class movement was indeed all that. Incidentally, the "un-Hungarian" label was quickly attached to anyone who opposed the upper classes' Hungary. Ady, the angry mourner of Hungarian backwardness, responds to this accusation with the question: "Am I not a Hungarian?"

However, the situation is complicated--and not only for the present-day observer, I believe--by the persisting concurrence of the aforementioned accusation and the Hungarian working-class movement's phraseology! Our working-class movement has rarely manifested its national character. Already the Social Democratic movement had cautiously avoided using national attributes and slogans, and this avoidance did not change after the Communist Party's formation. Not even in such an outstanding phase of our national history as the Hungarian Soviet Republic, when we were able to raise our nation the second time to the forefront of international progress.

This is a peculiar schizoid state! Lenin teaches us that the working-class movement or socialism must undertake the bourgeois transformation, and the struggle for democratic national demands, in the backward feudal countries of Eastern Europe, and that a democratic fatherland must be realized at the same time as socialism.

If we disregard the errors in strategy, this is essentially what the Hungarian working-class movement has been doing. But while it supports a cause that is objectively the most national, it is reluctant to demonstrate this support openly. Indeed, mainly a sort of oversized internationalism--rather than nationalism, and national symbols and slogans--has been characteristic of the Hungarian working-class movement, except perhaps at the time of the anti-fascist Popular Front and the policy of independence.

What are the factors that influenced the development of the working-class movement's attitude to the national and the international?

Such a factor has been first of all the necessity for the working-class movement to distance itself from bourgeois nationalism. And let us not forget that the Hungarian working-class movement, from its very birth, had to fight against a very virulent, aggressive and often effective nationalism! Another factor has been the existence of many nationalities in the country. Already the 1930 program of the MSZDP [Hungarian Social Democratic Party] was ambivalent about the range of national issues. On the basis of its conception of the theory of revolution, the MSZDP realized that to fight for the nationalities' right to self-determination would have weakened the unfolding of Hungarian capitalist development, and thereby also the prospects of the transition to socialism. Moreover, such a demand could have placed it on the same platform with the national bourgeoisies. That left only a more pronounced internationalism for the program.

The spreading of revolutions internationally after World War I again created a different situation. The identical or nearly identical tasks stemming from the revolutionary situation, together with the inexperience of the communist movement that the revolutionary situation produced, led to the individual communist parties' realizing, or attempting to realize, their national tasks on the basis of an internationally elaborated, uniform strategy. All this jointly resulted in de-emphasis of the national characteristic; and, on the basis of the illusions that the movement fostered, some writers went so far as to contend that the national factor had become outdated. The previous formula emerged once again: dictatorship of the proletariat became the only realistic alternative for salvaging our national existence in defiance of the Entente's dictate and, with the Hungarian Soviet Republic, our country again rose to the forefront of European progress. But this was not reflected in the documents of the Hungarian CP, respectively of the united party, and politics and propaganda avoided any mention of national symbols and references, and of national continuity.

After the Treaty of Trianon, the relationship between the national and the international became even more complicated within the Hungarian communist movement. Imposed by foreign powers upon the country, the Horthy regime did not spring from a popular or national base. Yet the fascist ideology that flooded the country attempted to gain support of the masses by manipulating and abusing

national sentiments and, let us add, national grievances. The Hungarian CP was forced to oppose the chauvinistic nationalism and hatred that were becoming dominant, but its sober advice "to finally settle our common affairs" could not prevail over the shouts of "No, No, Never"!

The 7th Congress of the Communist International marked an important change in the strategy of the international movement. Simultaneously it recognized that the individual parties had to be more independent under the more and more complicated conditions, circumstances and tasks of the struggle against fascism, and that national characteristics had to be taken into consideration when formulating strategies.

After some hesitation, all this soon manifested itself in the strategy and tactics of the Hungarian CP as well. In the history of our communist movement there followed a period during which the class interests of the working class, our national interests, and the movement's international struggle and interests merged smoothly into a single process, under a consistent, continuously developed strategy and flexible tactics. Not only can this be demonstrated on the strategic objectives, but the Hungarian CP also emphasized the national character of its policy. This was the combined result of several factors. We had to make the masses aware that Horthy's fascism was selling the country while waving the Hungarian flag; that enlargement of the country's territory without bloodshed, amidst a large propaganda campaign, actually meant the country's destruction. The masses had to be led to understand that the real national interest was to defend, respectively to restore, the country's independence; and that this could be achieved through the antifascist national cooperation that the Hungarian CP was urging and developing. At the same time, as a reflection of the objective international situation, an ever-wider circle recognized that national independence, democratic transformation and national advancement could not be achieved unless we cooperated with the Soviet Union and the neighboring peoples.

Therefore it was understandable that the Hungarian CP invoked the independence traditions of Hungarian history, and primarily the 1848-1849 revolution and war of independence as a direct historical antecedent of its own policy.

The first years of building socialism, the so-called 1950's, were yet another stage in the emergence and development of socialist national awareness. The reconstructing, country-building momentum of transformation into a people's democracy continued. This was the period of "bright breezes" [a reference to the marching song of MADISZ, the youth organization of that time], with its immense energies, earth-shaking ambitions, and illusions. It was also a period of seclusion, of sectarian withdrawal and policies, with its mistakes, law violations and wounds. Is it any wonder that this inner conflict and dichotomy were reflected in national awareness as well?

On the one hand--as a continuation of the earlier trends, but mainly for tactical considerations, and to justify the efforts toward economic autarchy after the year of change [1948]--the traditions of the fighters for independence were emphasized and nearly absolutized in historical propaganda, overshadowing almost completely the other typical kind of tradition, the one open to mankind, the traditions of the fighters for revolution and class struggle. Practically

an unbroken line led from Bocskai, Bethlen and Rakoczi's wars for independence, through the revolutions of 1848-1849 and 1919, to the present construction of socialism. Through a lopsided continuity, national history was freed of its self-criticism. The past practically became ideal.

During this same period, on the other hand, distortions of policy in the direction of sectarianism and dogmatism practically discredited the national. The nation was regarded as a suspicious remnant of the past, a guise for oppositionary sentiment, and adversary of the socialist community. This policy filed away [Madach's] "The Tragedy of Man," and practically banned the National Anthem. Even our national holidays ceased to be collective experiences, becoming instead a series of exclusive programs requiring invitations and governed by protocol. The dialectics of the national and international became distorted also in the practice of building socialism. Dogmatic sectarian policy ignored national features and characteristics; asserting some sort of sectarian internationalism, it elevated blind acceptance of the Soviet Union's experience, without any adaptation, the touchstone of socialism.

Again a schizoid state that gradually leads to a distinction and even a contrast between socialism and the nation in one's consciousness. An aroused and updated stereotyped national awareness on the one hand; and its suppression and labeling as suspect on the other. This is what enabled revisionism to contrast socialism with the national also openly, giving the class enemy a golden opportunity to mask his true intentions with national slogans during the 1956 counterrevolution, and to cloak in national guise his attack against people's power.

A decisive question of the ideological consolidation after the counterrevolution's defeat was how and to what extent we would be able to clarify in the minds of people the interrelations among the history of the working-class movement, the construction of socialism, and national development. The debates during the nearly three decades past have contributed toward exploring the dialectics of the national and international, and the interrelations among the working-class movement, our national history, and national awareness. However, the basic question remains the same: there is no other way even today to revive and develop national awareness.

The generations that struggled for socialism were also fighting in the front ranks for national advancement, just as the 40 years of socialism can be added to our 1000-year history as a chapter of real national advancement. In the course of our history this is already the third time that we, as a part of the socialist world system, have reached the forefront of universal human progress. It is up to us what substance this "placement" will gain, here at home and in the outside world as well.

YUGOSLAVIA

## SOCIOLOGIST GATHERING FOCUSES ON ECONOMIC TROUBLES

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1789, 14 Apr 85 pp 14-16

[Article by Stevan Niksic: "Life Observed under the Magnifying Glass"]

[Text] At their traditional gathering in Portoroz, Yugoslav sociologists showed that they have been occupied with economic problems and with the possible social implications of the "economic philosophy" which now prevails. It was apparent, however, that they are much better at asking questions than at providing answers.

During a ten year period beginning in the early 1970's, Yugoslav sociologists did not hold their traditional annual gathering, and their professional association virtually ceased to exist. When the Yugoslav Sociology Association was resurrected in the early 1980's the tradition of regular yearly meetings was renewed, and interest in the picture of domestic social conditions seen through the eyes of sociologists also returned.

Sociologists from all over the country once again critically examined the considerable range of current topics under their magnifying glass last week in Portoroz, topics ranging from economic stabilization, social differences, and unemployment, to controversies in education, culture, religion... In spite of the formal, somewhat neutral, title of their scholarly conference--"Sociology and Social Practice"--it was really a unique sort of vivisection of the ongoing social crisis.

### Criticisms of Economists

Of course, a simple answer to the question: "What are sociologists saying, what are they thinking," is not possible. This is primarily because we are dealing with a large number of topics and with a large number of opinions which are often different and it would be difficult even to be able to enumerate them. It is also because there are unfortunately very few--increasingly fewer--studies of contemporary conditions in Yugoslav society which are appropriate, worthwhile, and credible from a professional point of view. So much so, perhaps, that the value of some statements made at the conference could easily be questioned in precisely the same way a few sociologists sometimes readily questioned statements made by economists and by those who create economic and other policy, reprimanding them for ignoring science and its conclusions.

Nevertheless, we will pick out a few typical points of view.

First of all, Yugoslav sociologists were typically most concerned with economic topics this time; they contemplated them, but not always from their own specific scholarly approach and in a completely consistent manner. They thought that the creators of the Long-Range Program of Economic Stabilization had decided on reaffirming the "market economy" and that an "economic philosophy" reliant on the market is now prevalent in the viewpoints of the majority of influential economists in Yugoslavia. At the same time, they noted that this school of thought is obviously in vogue all over the world (with varying emphases with regard to practical economic policy), and they concluded logically that there was a real possibility that Yugoslav sociologists might have to deal the social effects of the unrestrained operation of a "market economy."

Silvano Bolcic, a professor in the Department of Philosophy at Belgrade, as well as a sociologist involved in the Krajger Commission, thinks that the first warning connected with this concerns an inevitable increase in social differences. He concluded that social differences today are already great enough to have become a cause of "widespread dissatisfaction" among people who live by their own labor.

"Proponents advocating unrestrained operation of market principles have occasionally regarded warnings of this kind as vestiges of unvanquished illusions of socialism being a society of equality and non-servile production, as an error of Marxist orthodoxy, and as contributing to an economic philosophy which for the most part is responsible for the present crisis," said Bolcic. Nevertheless, he thinks that it is impossible to speak of a strategy for socialist development of society if one does not make the elimination of social inequalities one of the basic goals and essential criterion of the success of development.

Complete advocacy of market principles under existing conditions might easily develop into an ideology which in fact makes existing forms of economic differentiation legitimate, noted Bolcic, although this development has been shown to be dysfunctional from the point of view of economic progress and destructive from the point of view of the social integration of Yugoslav society as a "total social community."

#### Kinds of Differences

First of all, let us digress. A discussion on social differences was already in progress on the first day of the conference. In the opinion of Ivan Bernik, a Ljubljana sociologist, the problem does not only consist in the degree of inequality. After all, he said it is difficult to establish whether a range of personal income of 1 to 10, for example, would be more stimulative than a range of 1 to 3. In his opinion, the major problem is really in the legitimacy of the inequality. If the differences are legitimate (thus, if they are legally and honestly acquired), even rather large ranges could be stimulative. However, data indicate that the legitimacy of inequality in Yugoslav society today is very low, and that the majority of the population is not satisfied with the degree of inequality. For example, approximately 60 percent of the people in Slovenia think that spreads in personal incomes are too great, and they have come out in favor

of a reduction in differences. In a continuation of this discussion, there was also some talk at this time on the concept of an egalitarian system, which was described by Josip Zupanov. At the same time he appraised that this phenomenon implies an ideology by which a "political elite" is obligated to worry about the masses and their security. Finally, Srdjan Vrcan (who was elected as president of the Yugoslav Sociologists Association on this occasion) noted that any discussion about egalitarianism which ignores the distribution of interests in society is too abstract.

#### A Vicious Circle

Let us again return to the opinions of Silvano Bolcic. He thinks that inflation ("seems to be") a functional mechanism of the Yugoslav economy which creates the illusion of resolving economic problems in a situation in which no essential changes are possible because of established power relationships. He thinks that it is realistic in a sociological sense to talk about "Yugoslav society" and a strategy for its development if a uniform economic space exists. Among other things, this also assumes uniform economic policy. However, it seems to him that this sort of unified policy is increasingly less likely to take place in Yugoslavia. He concludes that because of the process of disintegration which has taken place over the last 20 years--which has deepened inherited differences--because of objectively different interests which are based on this, changes in the political system today are no more than a "topic for discussion." This is because a plurality of economic policies is already more or less accepted reality now.

"Those who want changes do not have the power to implement them, and those who have enough power do not want changes or cannot agree on making them" noted Vladimir Goati, director of the Social Sciences Institute in Belgrade. He described a unique phenomenon which he called "a political perpetual-motion machine." It is constructed in the following way: the domination of a territorial political standard in forming economic interests leads to a homogenization of these interests in some parts of the country, as opposed to interests in other parts of the country...In some cases the differences are so great that they require arbitration of the political factor. Thus the same factor which caused the "crumbling" of the unified Yugoslav market and the origin of eight economies finds a basis of support for its arbitral role precisely in these differences. And it becomes a vicious circle...

Regarding the political system, Goati gave the opinion that the indirect form of elections, such as we now have in elections for the delegate assembly, is an "anachronism of civilization." (He cited results of studies in his report which show that during the 1978 and 1982 elections two-thirds of all citizens abstained from participating in the political and electoral process). He also remarked that the system we have now is "not sensitive enough to fundamental social problems." He used the example of the anthem to prove his second point (he said that his first point, that direct elections are better than indirect ones, cannot be disputed in any scholarly way).

#### Questions and Answers

Although the disposition of citizens has shown an extraordinarily high degree of unity in the demand that the anthem not be changed (between 80 and 90 percent of

all people in different parts of the country were opposed to changing the anthem "Hej, Sloveni"), in the "shallow waters of the political system" and in several institutions this matter has by no means been removed from the agenda. In contrast to this, Goati said, there is no appropriate action to organize large systems such as the railroad, the postal and communications system, etc., in a rational way.

And now we once again return to the economy, just as most of the sociologists in Portoroz continued to return to this topic. Dusko Sekulic, a professor in the Philosophy Department in Zagreb, asked: "What does it mean to introduce a market economy into relationships which already exist in the economy?" And he answered that, among other things, it means that a privileged position based on state monopoly would be changed towards an improved position based on market conditions. He then asked another question: Is this society prepared to replace the clerotic and "security" characteristic of socialized economic systems with the dynamic quality characteristic of a market system? He did not, however, give a definite answer to this question.

Speaking about the Long-Range Program of Economic Stabilization, Sekulic (once again) asked: Is the "political subsystem" of our society "aware that one consequence of the implementation of the stabilization program is the loss of its power?" And he himself responded to his own question, again in the form of a question: "Is it really so strange that 'resistance' to implementing the stabilization program appears when it means directly removing the regulatory power of those components in the political system which are most powerful today?"

"The fact is that the distribution of power in Yugoslavia today is such that the republics are the ones who have the greatest amount of power ('the Federation is only what the republics have agreed upon'), but also that this power is such that every federal unit has the right of veto. In the extraordinarily difficult economic situation in which we now find ourselves, this right of veto is not being utilized, but we strive to reach a consensus (an example is the foreign-exchange law and the behavior of Croatia and Slovenia). But the question is, assuming the redistribution which will necessarily be brought about by the operation of market principles, can this consensus continue to function," Sekulic said. He feels that the reinforcement of market components will cause a large part of the economy, "which cannot function under market conditions," to seek political protection. This is because, taking everything into consideration, he is not convinced that the existing economic structure in Yugoslavia is flexible enough to adapt itself to market conditions. And he seemed to be somewhat skeptical when he asked: Can Yugoslavia endure the consequences of reorientation to a market-system economy? "Since no one is going to die off voluntarily, we can predict that conflicts in relationships between the political system and economic units will intensify," concluded the professor from Zagreb. At the same time, he remarked that it is more probable that an opstina will exert pressure on the republic to protect "our" enterprise, but that the republic will give up on it and proclaim the principle "let the best survive."

#### An Epidemic Called Unemployment

The unemployment problem seemed to be one topic which has truly engaged the attention of Yugoslav sociologists. In his introductory report devoted to this

problem (entitled "Unemployment as Epidemic or as Fate"), Srdjan Vrcan quickly let it be known that he had no pretensions of saying something completely original. This is because the Federal Chambers' Commission for Problems of Economic Stabilization has just cited 27 possible ways to implement desired goals in this area.

He began first of all by saying that unemployment today can be characterized as a genuine, large-scale, social phenomenon. Going by the official numbers, at least a million people, if not more, are seeking work at the present time. Manipulating the definition of unemployment, and trimming one or another form from the category cannot reduce the number of people without jobs, Vrcan said. Perhaps one can improve the way things look on an official level, but one cannot deny that existing unemployment can be characterized as a mass phenomenon.

Similarly, unemployment can be characterized as a lasting social phenomenon in our country, and it shows a tendency of gradually increasing over the longer term. Unemployment has also shown a noticeable tendency to deepen, not only because the number of unemployed is becoming increasingly larger, but also because unemployment is lasting an increasingly longer period of time. The majority of the unemployed are those looking for their first permanent job. In this respect, the phenomenon as it exists in our country differs from unemployment in many other European countries. Thus, unemployment in these places has grown as a result of the loss of jobs. Changes in the structure of unemployment have also come about here. In previous times the vast majority of those unemployed were unqualified and semi-qualified workers. Today the majority are qualified and educated people, as well as those with an advanced level of university education.

The "geography of unemployment" in Yugoslavia now looks like this: the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, with a 1.3 percent unemployment rate (using data for 1982), has exceeded many industrially developed countries and is at the very top in Europe in level of employment. During the same year, the unemployment rate in the Socialist Republic of Serbia was as high as 18.4 percent, and was one of the highest in Europe! One should add that unemployment does not affect all social strata with the same intensity and with equal probability. It first of all affects, and affects most seriously, those who otherwise are in an inferior social position as well, above all young people and women. Up to now, the system has laid the burden of unemployment primarily on the backs of families and relatives of those who are unemployed.

In analyzing the causes of unemployment, Vrcan concluded that the current social crisis did not create this phenomenon in our country, but has only deepened it and made it worse-- it has driven it almost to the extreme. Nor is unemployment in Yugoslavia today exclusively, or predominantly, the result of a lack of desire of those who are unemployed to accept work. Similarly, this phenomenon is neither exclusively nor primarily the result of the existing, inadequate educational system. Expectations tied to reform of directed education have not been realized with regard to employment dynamics, not even in those places where this reform was introduced first and carried out most persistently. Because not even in these places has there been success in slowing the rising trend of unemployment. Vrcan also stated, however, that today's unemployment cannot even be directly related to the overall lack of economic development. As to the question of the actual

causes of unemployment, unfortunately he, as well as other participants of this conference of sociologists, was not able to give a definite answer. To a certain extent, this sums up the nature of this discussion. There were many more dilemmas and questions than answers. Apparently the sociologists expect to get them from someone else.

#### A Place at the Rear

In speaking about social development and quality of life in Yugoslavia, Veljko Rus cited data from a study done by Katarina Tomasevski in 1983. According to the study, which uses all possible indicators of social prosperity, Yugoslavia is in last place in Europe. This fact in itself does not have to be distressing, because it might be justified by the relative lack of economic development which is a limiting factor in the financing of social services. More worrisome, according to Rus, is other data from the same study. According to the Sivard index, Yugoslavia is only in 40th place among countries of the world. The Sivard index measures the ratio between the proportion of national income going for social services and the proportion going for the armed forces. According to this index, Sweden is in first place, and not only are many Western countries ahead of Yugoslavia, but many Eastern European countries as well, which means that even they spend relatively less for the armed forces and relatively more for social services than we do.

Veljko Rus stated that a developed country should not evaluate itself more intensively first of all by the extent of national income, by the share of exports, and by the share of national income in armaments, but by the quality of employment, by the quality of working conditions, by the development of education, by the development of health services, and by the corresponding policies concerning the population. If we take into consideration that we spend an extraordinarily large amount of money for the armed forces, that we have a million unemployed, that we have a million more disabled veterans, and that we are at the bottom of the scale of European countries in the development of social services, then of course we cannot say that Yugoslavia has achieved a high level of social development. We can probably say exactly the opposite--that Yugoslavia, considering its level of economic development, has an abnormally low level of social development, which of course obstructs the functioning of an otherwise progressive institutional system.

#### Ten Times Greater

Vladimir Goati also cited some interesting data in his report, concluding that after the passage of the SFRY Constitution there was a very rapid increase in the number of people employed in social-political communities and organizations. Thus, the number employed in these activities increased by 7,000 (from 162,700 to 169,600) during the period 1965 to 1972. In other words, the average yearly increase in the number of employees came to 1,000. However, during the period from 1972 to 1982, the number of employed increased by approximately 100,000, and the rate of average yearly increase went up by 10 times compared to the previous period!

It is not only a matter, primarily and exclusively, of a large fund of personal incomes which were received by the aforementioned group of employees, but also a matter of enormous operating expenses. This is because, according to the

inherent logic of institutions, especially new ones, in order to justify their reason for existence they undertake momentous actions which require great monetary assets and social energy, Goati observed.

According to Veljko Rus, the Ljubljana professor mentioned above, the inefficiency in the use of assets for social services and the very low quality of these services is something no less worrisome. The number of nonproductive workers in newly-created self-management interest communities has grown very rapidly since 1984, while at the same time the number of organs, and the number of officials in social organs which regulated the system of social services, has not declined.

#### "Threatened Existence"

In the report submitted by this year's gathering of Yugoslav sociologists, Dimitrij Rupel, the Ljubljana professor and prominent Slovenian intellectual, made an appraisal in which he said that a "class struggle in culture" is being waged in Yugoslavia today. And it is being carried out in such a way that "politicians and journalists are dispensing conventions at the expense of intellectuals." He says that this is a variation of "cultural struggle" familiar from our own history and from that of other countries--from the 1855-1867 period in Austria, the thirty year period in the Soviet Union, the fifty year period in China. One one side are politicians, on the other are freedom-loving intellectuals...

Rupel is even "more definite" when he talks about Slovenia. He observes that social resources intended for culture have been cut back from year to year. To be more precise, for the last two years monies for culture in the Cultural Community of Slovenia have actually declined by approximately 5 percent a year. In contrast to increasingly meager funds allotted to culture, Rupel notes that "Slovenia's contribution to the Federation is increasing." Based on this he concludes that "essential redistributions of social property are taking place in Slovenian society, a nationalization of cultural, or creative, labor." And in this way he claims that Slovenian, or Yugoslavian, cultural workers are obviously being threatened. Furthermore, he claims that it is no longer a matter of a cultural or a political problem alone, "but it is an existential problem of the Slovenian nation, as well as of other Yugoslavian nations."

"Slovenian culture-- so it seems-- considered until recently that a problem in culture was to be acknowledged in a strategic area...It appeared that the following slogan was in effect: 'He who is victorious in culture is victorious over Slovenians!' However, it looks like culture will be the Slovenian Waterloo...We Slovenians were of the opinion that we would enter the world market as a part of a society of prominent nations with culture, and in addition, with fair policies; now, however, we find ourselves in a prominent society as beggars, replete with debts," says Rupel.

Rupel's point of view did not pass unnoticed. The Belgrade sociologist Borislav Dzuverovic energetically opposed his appraisal (in the Sociology of Culture section), and loudly and clearly qualified them as unacceptable and nationalistic.

YUGOSLAVIA

DRAFT CONCLUSIONS ON IDEOLOGICAL TRENDS ANALYZED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1790, 21 Apr 85 pp 8-9

[Article by Stevan Niksic: "Battles of Ideas and Ideological Controversies"]

[Text] Talk is always just talk, except when it has to do with politics. It is only in politics that talk has this property of sometimes turning into an event. This time we are talking about one such event, which -- in the strictly formal sense -- took the form of a specially published article in the Sunday newspapers. It bore a suitable but slightly awkward title: "Ideological Trends in Society and the Tasks of the League of Communists of Serbia in the Struggle for Socialist Self-Management." It actually presented the draft positions and conclusions of the Central Committee of the Serbian LC, which are to be discussed at the next meeting.

In preparing for the next meeting of the highest party forum in the Serbian LC, which will be devoted to this subject, the authors of the above-mentioned article followed the established practice of first exposing their viewpoints to the critical judgment of the public. Thus, we too already have an opportunity this week to refer to an event that will take place next week.

We are doing this for several reasons.

First of all, because we are convinced that the domestic political public, and thus our readers as well, will be following this discussion, for good reason. The economic crisis and the problems that it has imposed are intensifying the need for the ideological struggle. Many issues are unresolved and require immediate answers, not only in the practical-political sense but in the ideological-theoretical sense as well.

The interest in this type of discussion of ideological trends at the meeting of the Central Committee of the Serbian LC will undoubtedly be influenced by the fact that similar discussions, with similarly formulated titles, have been conducted and are still being conducted in other party forums as well, in other republic and provincial LC organizations, and throughout the entire LCY. Among other things, this could also be a good opportunity for a comparison, for noting similarities and differences.

Finally, for us journalists, this is an opportunity for a sort of preliminary survey. When you turn the page [in original article], you will find a text

that contains the answers of several of our interlocutors to questions similar to those in the above-mentioned draft Central Committee conclusions. These two pictures (the first being the one to be discussed by the members of the Serbian LC's Central Committee and the second the one that we observed) generally coincide. There are also some segments, however, which should be modified to some extent in the final formulation of the positions of the Central Committee, in the judgment of our interlocutors and the people whose opinions we requested.

The published draft positions and conclusions of the Central Committee of the Serbian LC show that a non-dogmatic or rather an anti-dogmatic view of the socialist outlook for the development of Yugoslav society only has its full revolutionary meaning if precise distinctions are drawn at the same time between it and the different versions of self-managing socialism and the LC put forward by alien and foreign ideologies. In this sense, the authors of the article are not indebted to anyone. They note that communists must give a convincing and ideologically dominant answer to the challenges of conservative and reactionary forces. At the same time, however, they call attention to the fact that such answers can only be given through socialist action that eliminates the causes of stagnation and establishes the prerequisites for social progress. In other words, they remind us that the revolutionary action of the LC, if that is what it really is, cannot be reduced to merely verbal battles.

The ideological struggle, according to the draft, must be turned toward building new relationships and progressively resolving social contradictions, not just toward curbing unacceptable views. Curbing negative tendencies is only successful if creative action increases society's receptiveness to truly progressive and productive initiatives. This is the first difference, and at first glance possibly the most obvious one, between this document and several others written with similar pretensions, whose creators exhausted themselves in assaulting the enemy, labelling, and creating lists of undesirables.

The LC has the permanent task of initiating discussions and conducting creative action in society. It is stated, however, that the commitment in principle to discussion and dialogue does not mean at the same time that society can also be opened up to antisocialist ideas.

Also significant is the tone in which this document is written.

It points out the importance of more rapidly clearing up and surmounting ideological differences in views of the political and economic systems. It insists on more precise assessment of the fundamental causes of statist tendencies in society. It notes that it is necessary to dispute the bourgeois-liberal ideas of democracy convincingly, and to curb them in political practice. The struggle against nationalism, it states, must be conducted on the basis of a principled position, which also includes a deeper familiarity with the social causes for the increase in nationalism. No concessions should be made to dogmatism, and clearer distinctions must be drawn with ultra-leftist criticism. . .

The emphasis is obviously on determined action and the precise definition of communists, without concessions or compromises, but action based on principled positions, with a full awareness of the historical superiority of one's own arguments, in which — precisely for that reason -- the ends being sought cannot also be a cover for any and all means.

The "place of honor" in this article, and the most interesting parts of it, are devoted to the points on which different ideological arguments are being resumed today in society and in the LC, primarily about the socioeconomic system.

We have outlined these views, and we suggest that you read them, if you have not done so.

They deal with the opposition between the market and association, political voluntarism, the repression of economic laws, and the fragmentation of the market. "The irresolution of the organized forces of society in implementing the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program is one of the important reasons for the disunity in the ideological sphere," it is stated.

An evaluation follows that it is particularly significant for the LC to clear up the ideological differences that pertain to the political system, since these differences to a great extent determine the broader ideological situation.

On this occasion there was once again a reiteration of the Serbian LC's support for changes in the political system, and for the kind of changes that would proceed from the substantive necessity for the further development of the equal relations of the peoples and nationalities in Serbia and in Yugoslavia, and for the federal system to confirm its viability and strength through true effectiveness.

Recalling the permanent obligation to fight for a greater degree of unity and togetherness within the Serbian LC, the authors of the draft state that this is only an aspect and a sort of concretization of the struggle against statist-bureaucratic tendencies, which are still strong, in economic and social life.

In the section on nationalism, primarily Serbian nationalism, it is stated that political criticism, no matter how necessary and irreplaceable, is never sufficient. The most significant thing for the LC is to destroy the foundations for the renewal of the old intolerances and hatreds and for obsolete ideas in general, and these foundations are likewise found in statist-bureaucratic relations and particularism, which also limit the perspective of the organized socialist forces.

Separate sections are devoted to the need for the ideological exposure of anticomunism, followed by pseudoradical ultraleftist ideologies, along with criticism of negative politicization in culture. Somewhere toward the end, among other things, there is a discussion of the public nature of work as a fundamental condition for social progress and a guarantee for that progress.

"Criticism of unacceptable phenomena in public media should not threaten the social commitment to the public nature of work; it is necessary to distinguish justifiable criticism from criticism that actually defends threatened bureaucratic, group-property, and other non-self-management interests," according to the published draft positions and conclusions of the Central Committee of the Serbian LC.

It is apparent that as a rule these are well known and frequently repeated principled positions of the LC. The careful reader, on the other hand, will however, not overlook the fact that many of these viewpoints have their own history, if one can put it that way, or rather a prehistory.

Almost every one of the ten subject sections in this document contains a synthesis of one of the previous discussions or of the discussions that are still being conducted, in one way or another. And in these discussions, as we know, it has not always been easy to come to an agreement, and after them the unanimously accepted viewpoints have sometimes not been interpreted in the agreed-upon manner. For instance, the views on unity and togetherness in Serbia could serve as an example. No less illustrative is the "case" of some (generally accepted) LC assessments of the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program, changes in the political system, etc. It remains to be seen whether the upcoming discussion, just announced, about "ideological trends" in the Serbian LC will be an opportunity for those who do not agree with these views to say so openly.

Only then would the ostentatiously adopted views on the significance of democratic dialogue and the confrontation of arguments to clear up the existing (substantial) ideological differences acquire their full and real meaning. If we may paraphrase the published document once more, this is because it is precisely due to the antidogmatic practice and ideological creativity of the LC that over the course of many years our country has established the idea of socialism as a long process of social transformations: an idea free of illusions about the possibility of rapidly achieving far-reaching goals. This does not mean, however, that we can reconcile ourselves to postponing what is attainable and possible.

#### [Boxed article]

The awareness of the working class is dominated by the conviction that precious time is being lost in unproductive conflicts of interest, at the expense of all parts of society and the community as a whole, and at the expense of self-management and the interests of the working class.

The LC ascribes particular significance to clearing up the ideological differences that pertain to the political system, since these differences to a great extent determine the ideological situation on the broader level.

It is equally important to reject an apologetic approach to every concrete solution in the system and resolutely defend the fundamental principles of this system -- above all the power of the working class and self-management, the federal system, fraternity and unity, and the policy of national equality.

The organized forces of society must also be continually concerned with both the unity of the republic and the autonomous provinces, and resolutely and strongly influence the socialist social content of these two dimensions of relations in Serbia, with a clear awareness of their equal significance for the policy of the equality of peoples and nationalities in the provinces, the republic, and the federation.

The advocacy of a higher degree of unity in Serbia is directed against statist-bureaucratic tendencies in economic and political life, which are still strong. The LC should not avoid a discussion of these vital problems in relations in Serbia in the interest of some fictitious unity of the leadership. In raising these issues, the LC must keep a clear line distinguishing Serbian nationalism. It must take good care what forces it raises, and resolutely reject all undesirable allies. In general, for real progress toward a simultaneous affirmation of autonomy and unity, it is of vital significance to distinguish all reactionary views and concepts, whether they are unitarist and centralist, or separatist and autonomist. In this regard, keeping a clear boundary with respect to Serbian nationalism is an important test for the Serbian LC, just as clarity in the attitude toward Albanian nationalism and separatism is an important test for Kosovo, and critical clarity toward autonomism is an important test for Vojvodina.

Closed economies, whether they are national or not, bear nationalism within them as an internal tendency. Consequently, the struggle against nationalism essentially also entails opposing the tendencies to bureaucratize society and those responsible for these tendencies.

Socialist self-management is in essence an antisectarian vision of social development.

(From the Draft Conclusions of the Central Committee of the Serbian LC)

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DISCUSSION HEATED ON AMENDMENTS TO LCY STATUTE

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1790,  
21 Apr 85 pp 18-19

[Article by Milan Lazarevic: "Disputes of the 'Open Cards'"]

[Text] The discussion of changes and additions to the LCY Statute has just begun, but the most striking ideas and political divisions and fronts are being expressed in it. It appears that at the very beginning, it was inevitable that a front would be opened up here as well--for changes and against them--and the question is perhaps only the day when the wittier part of the political public will adopt a new neologism in current political terminology--"statute-defenders."

The analogy with the constitution is not at all a strained one, first of all because the Statute is a sort of "Party constitution," but also because the players in the defense are the same ones (even when they are not in form). Why, however, was it noticeable at the beginning of the Statute discussions that the participants were fairly nervous, as it happened a few days ago at the joint meeting of the Serbian LC Statutory Commission and the commissions on development and cadre issues of the Central Committee of the Serbian LC, when all the previous games had ended in draws and stalemates? It is becoming obvious that the changes blocked at many points in society can only be initiated through the LC, which, to tell the truth, lacks unity.

Federalization and the Statute

The basis for the discussion at the meeting of the above-mentioned three commissions of the Serbian LC was the initial view of the changes and additions to the LCY Statute drafted by a joint working group, under the title "Initial Views and Proposals" (we are providing a presentation of this "material" as an appendix to the article). The approach of the working group was precisely defined in the opening statement by Velimir Matic, the chairman of the Serbian LC Statutory Commission: "We are resolutely opposed to the theses that view the causes of the tendencies damaging to the unity of the LCY, and thus also the ways to surmount them, exclusively as a consequence of inconsistent implementation of the LCY Statute, and therefore think that essentially nothing ir it should be changed. We are likewise also opposed to the views that proceed from the

belief that everything in the existing LCY Statute should be fundamentally changed and that some sort of new LCY should be created."

In explaining the proposals of the working group, Matic pointed out that "the LCY must reexamine all the definitions and solutions which because of their imprecision and omissions leave a possibility for an ambiguous interpretation, and thus also for them to be applied in a way leading to the federalization of the LCY. The most significant cause of federalization in the LCY should be sought in the interpretation of the unity of the LCY and the autonomy of its parts. The existence of the LC's of the republics and provinces per se is not the cause and cannot lead to a federalization which in fact gives rise to autonomy conceived as the sovereignty of the republic and provincial LC's. Eight autonomous leagues conceived in such a manner will also erode the LCY's unity in the future, unless the Statute clearly defines the nature and framework for this autonomy and establishes measures that the leading organs of the LCY are obligated to undertake in the struggle against such concepts." Also similar is Matic's warning in connection with the proposals aimed at strengthening the principle of democratic centralism, that ties aimed at abandoning this principle actually establish the republic and provincial parties as national, separate parties. This would lead to the liquidation of the LCY and thus the destruction of Yugoslavia.

There can be no unity in the Serbian LC, and thus in the LCY, unless relations within the Serbian LC are established in the same way as in the entire LCY, i.e. based on the principle of democratic centralism. Today, however, it is being disputed that relations in the Serbian LC, which includes the provincial LC's, can be based on these principles, and when this is done indirectly it is then said, according to Matic, that these principles cannot be applied in a "simplistic manner," and that one should not lose sight of the fact that the provincial LC's are autonomous organizations in the LCY that adopt decisions independently and answer to the LCY. We are not even questioning that kind of autonomy for the provincial LC's, but it is unacceptable to have a practice in which these relations are viewed exclusively as a relationship of possible cooperation as partners, not adhering to the provisions that the Kosovo LC and the Vojvodina LC are part of the Serbian LC. Likewise unacceptable is the idea that the Serbian LC can be reduced to membership in a narrower area, although in fact and in institutional-organizational terms the Serbian LC does not exist without the provincial LC's.

#### Federalization and "Behavior"

The very first participant in the 6-hour discussion, Slavko Veselinov, showed that there were different approaches to the changes in the Statute. According to him, the causes of federalization should be sought in "deviation from the established policy," and he supported this thesis by saying that this was "the interpretation of our leaders, who are not around today." The issues of relations in the Serbian LC should be taken off the agenda in the proper way, "so that we do not occupy these people with matters that should not occupy them." The Serbian LC is not the same as the

LC's of the other republics, since it has two other parts, the LC's of the provinces, with joint and identical responsibility in the LCY. It has its own specific features. Naturally, Veslinov stressed, we cannot outvote in the Central Committee of the Serbian LC the decisions and issues on which the provincial LC's are directly responsible to the LCY. We have, however, several joint issues within the same republic where we can build unity differently, with an appropriate role being played by the membership and the basic organizations. When issues that are so significant for working people are put on the agenda, "one cannot arrive at unity in three days, and afterwards have the decisions thus adopted respected as if based on democratic centralism."

A particularly sharp tone was introduced into the disagreements of the commission members from Vojvodina with the working group's proposals by Radovan Medjedovic, who, while noting among other things that "some provisions in the Statute are not formulated consistently from the ideological-theoretical standpoint," felt that this negated the contributions of Tito, Kardelj, and other prominent Yugoslav thinkers! "It turns out that we adopted these determinations at that time voluntaristically, in accordance with some sort of objections or the balance of forces." The definition of an LCY in which the LC's of the republics and provinces are united should not be changed, since this is the historical truth. The federalization of the LCY is not caused by this; it is rather the occurrence of different lines within the LCY and of deviations from the general line. Medjedovic assessed the newly proposed definition of the LCY as unacceptable, since it "eliminates the autonomy, equality, and equal responsibility of the LC's of the provinces and the LC's of the republics for carrying out the policy of the LCY in their areas." (In any case, Medjedovic, the chairman of the Statutory Commission of the Vojvodina LC, repeated this "formula" fully 8 times in his speech.)

"The reasons for the disagreements are that there is a desire to create a unified organization in the Serbian LC, but this attitude," Medjedovic asserted, "belongs only to the LCY. The argument that some positions of the Central Committee of the Serbian LC are not being implemented in the provinces has the problem of how democratic centralism is being understood -- whether it is as a hierarchical principle of democratic relations. These phenomena will occur to the same extent as there are attempts, when tasks are being established, to impose hierarchical relations, to compel solutions that are outside the SFRY Constitution and the LCY Statute, and that de facto call into question the basic decrees of the Vojvodina LC." Medjedovic concluded that the raising of the issue of the position of the provincial LC's was actually an expression of an attitude toward our revolution.

In the view of Mirjana Acketa, the proposals of the working group that deal with the issue of the positions of the LC's of the republics and provinces not only failed to take into account the general party debate in Vojvodina, but also conflicted with the conclusions of the 16th session. She also devoted a considerable number of critical words to the proposal on forms of action, which "are no longer such and are becoming organs, since only the basic organizations and organs of the LC have the right to

adopt obligatory forms." Vukasin Loncar recalled the positions from the initial document from the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee on work on changes and additions to the statute; these positions say that there can be no deviations from the fundamental determinations concerning the role and organization of the LC, and also concerning the autonomy of the LC's of the republics and provinces. According to Loncar as well, the newly proposed definition about who composes the LCY does not treat the provincial organizations as autonomous and equal in the LCY; this could mean a demand for a reorganization in the LCY that obviously could be a matter of good will or protests.

#### Against "Namecalling" and "Rejecting Dialogue"

The other 13 participants in the discussion supported the approach and proposals of the working group. Several of them, for example Olga Nikolic, Nikola Sainovic, Milorad Nikolic, and even chairman Momcilo Vicentijevic, firmly disassociated themselves from, as they put it, the "unacceptable approach" of Medjedovic, "labelling," and "rejecting a dialogue." Nevertheless, the danger was avoided of having the discussion follow an unwanted course of mutual "skirmishing" and "exhausting itself" with 2-3 formulations, since there were several interesting contributions and views on this subject. Let us mention only a few of them.

Dr. Rados Smiljkovic observed that relations in the LCY are leading not only toward federalization, but also a coalition of parties. In the opinion of Dr. Vojislav Stanovcic, a certain degree of federal structure in the LCY is necessary, but the disintegration processes in the LCY actually mean confederalism, which is also supported by certain organizational solutions, for example the present method of electing the LCY Central Committee.

Although in subsequent statements some disagreements and different interpretations of some proposals were apparently eliminated, the proposals of the working group were not formally adopted, nor were they voted on. This document, together with a transcript of the discussion, will be forwarded to the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee.

The discussion will be continued, naturally, and one should not prejudge its outcome. Nevertheless, as a very eloquent message and a signpost for the talks, one should note this statement by Velimir Matic: "I have to say that I am confused about why suddenly we are not conducting a discussion with 'open cards.' We are communists, responsible people. Do we think that the Serbian LC can exist without relations in it being based on the principle of democratic centralism? I assert that such a Serbian LC does not and cannot exist, or rather, it can but then it would no longer be a league of communists. But no one is raising this issue. There are constant references to autonomy, responsibility, equality, and democratic relations, although they are not in dispute. But relations in an organization have to be known. It is not any kind of hierarchy."

[Boxed article]

## Unity and Autonomy

In the public discussion, views were expressed that the LCY Statute would be enough by itself, based on the nature of the LCY as the unified organization of the working class of Yugoslavia. These views were explained by noting that the LCY has a unified Program, and accordingly should have a unified Statute, and also by the fact that up until the 9th LCY Congress, all relations in the LCY were regulated by a unified statute.

The current LCY Statute gives the definition that the LCY is composed of communists and their leagues in the republics and provinces (without designating the specific features of the Serbian LC). Such a definition implies the ruling that the LCY is a "league of the leagues of communists of the republics and provinces," and that it is thus constituted as a federal organization. The document proposes that instead of this, the LCY should be defined as "the revolutionary and united organization of the working class of Yugoslavia. . ." and that it should be specified that the LCY is composed of "members of the LCY, organized into basic, opstina, and city LC organizations, the leagues of communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Montenegro, Croatia, Macedonia, Slovenia, Serbia and the League of Communists of Kosovo and the League of Communists of Vojvodina, which are integral parts of the Serbian LC, and the LC organization in the Yugoslav National Army."

In connection with the statutory principle that the LC's of the republics and provinces are autonomous organizations, the document points out that one should bear in mind that the attribute of autonomy according to the statute is not just a characteristic of these, but also of other organizations--the basic, opstina, and city ones. Without challenging the autonomy of the republic and provincial organizations, and without putting them in the same level as the other organizations, the Statute should emphasize that all organizations are autonomous within the framework of the Program, the Statute, established policy, and the positions and decisions of LCY forums and organs.

The "initial views and proposals" drafted by the Central Committee of the Serbian LC also raise the issue of the specific nature of relations in the Serbian LC, an issue which is not contained in the initial document from the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee on changes and additions to the Statute. This was done on the basis of an assessment that the incomplete and imprecise solutions in the LCY Statute are to a certain extent "responsible" for the evident problems in building unity in the Serbian LC. The proposals for additions to the LCY Statute do not dispute the autonomy of the provincial organizations, but rather attempt to define more clearly the relations within the Serbian LC, proceeding from the fact that the LC's of the provinces are integral parts of the Serbian LC. This would be a basis for a more comprehensive elaboration of these relations in the statute of the Serbian LC.

The explanation of the proposal says that these clarifications are all the more relevant in view of the phenomenon of the Vojvodina LC and the Kosovo LC insisting primarily upon autonomy within the framework of the LC,

without respecting the provisions that both of these organizations are part of the Serbian LC and that they are represented in the Central Committee and other organs of the Serbian LC. For example, the LC organs in the provinces do not consider themselves obligated to implement some decisions of the Central Committee of the Serbian LC, even when these decisions are uniformly adopted. Even merely citing the Serbian LC is a rare occurrence in the provinces. The provincial committees see their relationship with the Central Committee of the Serbian LC exclusively as a relationship of potential cooperation. This more or less directly calls into question the possibility of a consistent implementation of democratic centralism in the Serbian LC.

The current LCY Statute only notes in principle that the Kosovo LC and the Vojvodina LC are integral parts of the Serbian LC. The additions and clarifications should thus prevent occurrences of different interpretations of the unity of the Serbian LC and the autonomy of the LC's of the provinces. In this regard, it is felt that the general principles and article 57 of the LCY Statute should establish the obligation of the provincial LC organizations to participate actively in establishing the policy of the Serbian LC and their responsibility for its consistent implementation in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism.

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YUGOSLAVIA

SUBNOR PRESIDIUM DISCUSSES KOSOVO ISSUES

LD222352 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1223 GMT 22 May 85

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 22 May (TANJUG)--It would be very strange if, today, 4 years after the counterrevolution in Kosovo, we could not state that the situation there has improved. However, the question is whether it is sound or not. In the view of the Federation of Veterans Associations [SUBNOR] Federal Board Presidium it is not and will not be for as long as emigration under duress of Serbs and Montenegrins from that province continues.

This assessment was a result of a debate about the material on the SAWPY activity in implementing the political platform on Kosovo which will be discussed at tomorrow's session of the SAWPY Federal Conference. Of course, none of the participants in today's debate denied that results have been achieved in consolidating the situation in Kosovo. However, according to the general view, these results do not reflect the efforts invested. Why is that so? Because there is no uniform judgment on the causes and consequences of the situation or even on the measures that should be taken.

In his introductory report, Velizar Skerovic stressed that there are differing opinions about the causes, the extent and the consequences of the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, about the political and security situation in the province, about the results achieved in opposing the counterrevolution, about the implementation of ideopolitical differentiation, and so forth. We are all united, he said, in the demand that the differences be overcome more rapidly since that is one of the prerequisites for a united and consistent action. All the republics and the province of Vojvodina as well as all sociopolitical structures at the federal level should assume a more active attitude as regard the tasks in the platform. I must say, he said, that at the federal level, there has been no systematic monitoring of the way in which the platform tasks are being carried out. This only confirms that sometimes this document has been interpreted as a task concerning the Kosovo subjective forces and the Socialist Republic of Serbia alone.

During the debate of several hours the material submitted by the socialist alliance did not receive much praise. Objections were made to its length, to the fact that many problems are treated in the same way, to excessive tolerance and caution. Bozidar Grojan, who was the first to speak in the debate, remarked that the effects of the counterrevolution could not be

eliminated by political means alone but primarily by economic ones as well. In his view, the counterrevolution in Kosovo resulted from a wrong development policy that was pursued for too long.

We are claiming successes in the action to drive the enemy "underground" but he continues to realize its goals, Urs Bajic said. That only confirms that the irredentist movement has not been eradicated. The extent to which people who emigrated under duress are returning to Kosovo should be taken as a criterion of how successful the action really is.

I am amazed at the call for increased unity in implementing the platform, Drago Stojovic remarked, adding that the struggle against the counter-revolution calls for absolute unity, unity at any price. The present differences are grist to the mill of the irredentists movement. Sukrija Bijedic also spoke about unity and said that the state presidency and the party presidium should assume a greater role in securing unity. The present behavior confirms our helplessness.

Mensure Bektesi spoke about great efforts and the results achieved by Kosovo subjective forces, about how the scope for the enemy's activity has been narrowed, how it is dealt "fresh blows" every day but he also said that the enemy's activity continues to be felt in the province. The emigration of Serbs and montenegrins continues to be our greatest problem, but I maintain, he said, that there are no direct pressures to emigrate. The pressure is mostly psychological. [passage omitted]

It took us 4 years to carry out our revolution, but today, 4 years after the counterrevolution we have to be careful when choosing words to describe a phenomenon, Dusan Asanovic said. As far as the counterrevolution is concerned, there are no deadlines or dates. It has to be our everyday concern, but the results will [be] achieved only when the balance of power is to our advantage. And, at present, this is not so. When we talk about the counterrevolution we all think of 1981, but, in fact, it was conceived much earlier. As far as I know, those responsible for the present situation suffered no harm whatever.

Veselinka Malinska remarked that the term "irredentist movement" is not at all applicable to Kosovo since the province has never been a part of Albania. We have a counterrevolution here, and that is how it should be dealt with. [passage omitted]

At today's session the nomination of Mihailo Svabic for the post of the next president of the SUBNOR Federal Board Presidium with a 1-year mandate was approved.

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YUGOSLAVIA

GENERAL ADDRESSES SAWPY ON SOCIAL SELF-PROTECTION

AU301415 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian No 2393, 23 May 85 p 7

[Excerpts] In the Palace of Sociopolitical Organizations in Belgrade last week [on 17 May], the Presidium of the SAWPY Federal Conference held a session and discussed the SAWP tasks in strengthening the system of social self-protection. The introductory speech was submitted by Colonel General Milan Daljevic, member of the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium and president of its Coordination Committee for All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection. In this speech, he said among other things:

By putting this subject on the agenda, we want critically to examine the results of the activities to date, especially the shortcomings which appear in the functioning of the self-protection system, and--proceeding from the conclusions of the 16th LCY Central Committee session and the demands of the complex political time in which we live--to determine the basic directions of the further action, and to encourage all parts of the front to even better organized and more intensive activities in social self-protection.  
[passage omitted]

Even in this world of an increasingly present terrorism and of other forms of violence, Yugoslavia belongs to the ranks of rather peaceful countries. Behind all this, there is above all the high security consciousness of the great majority of our workers class working people, and citizens who are decidedly for socialist self-management, the brotherhood and unity of our peoples and nationalities, and a nonaligned policy. This was unequivocally confirmed by the discussion of the Draft Conclusions of the 13th LCY Central Committee session.

However, serious shortcomings in the protection of some social values show that the self-protection system still does not work efficiently to the extent that would accord with the needs and requirements of the times. Some ideological-political premises are being implemented slowly and inconsistently, which is above all reflected in the fact that the necessary mass nature, width, and efficiency of involvement of all the subjects of the political system in accordance with their role in society, and especially of the working people and citizens as its main protagonists, have not been achieved in self-protection, and important tasks for the SAWP proceed from this. [passage omitted]

In the past few years, as is known, there has been a more organized and aggressive manifestation of nationalists, the so-called bourgeois right, and bureaucratic dogmatic and other anti-self-managing forces. In connection with the fascist emigres and others who think alike abroad, they attack the very foundations of our system and the strategic course of our revolution, disputing the basic achievements of the National Liberation Struggle, the revolutionary role and ability of the LCY, and the personality and work of Josip Broz Tito. Their arrogance goes so far that they loudly advocate the so-called national reconciliation, which is to say an absolution with those who worked hand in hand with the occupiers and were the protagonists of the fratricidal war and counterrevolution. It particularly causes concern that the nationalists, the reactionary part of the clergy, and others from the tanks of the ideological adversaries of the LCY, succeed in penetrating the consciousness of a small number of young people and winning them over to their destructive activities. It indicates the need, among other things, for the young generation to be more comprehensively informed about the counterrevolutionary role of the quislings (Chetniks, Ustashes, White Guards, Ballists, and others) and the atrocities they perpetrated together with the occupiers.

When we speak about the level of danger emanating from the activities and influence of all these right and left forces, we must bear in mind that they do not rest so much on their number and organization, and even less on the strength of their ideas and the persuasiveness of the political platforms they offer, as they do on our own errors, shortcomings, and inconsistencies, and especially on a shortage of more intensive, thought-out, and offensive political action by the LC, the SAWP, and other subjective forces, which have been and remain the chief "lever" of social self-protection. [passage omitted]

In unmasking and preventing the activities of the internal enemies we must act on the broadest front, but also very concretely in every community where they appear. We must not permit ourselves to remain deaf to the slogans that the enemies launch and allow anybody anywhere to behave tolerantly and opportunistically toward them. There must be no ideological or any other compromise with the enemies. Everybody must react on the spot, for only then one can speak about mass self-protection.

Of course, in our actions a clear difference must be made between justified criticism and well-founded dissatisfaction of the working people, on the one hand, and petty bourgeois carping on the other; benevolent thinking and hostile slogans. It is bad and impermissible that every criticism is called hostile activity and that labels are facilely affixed to people. We must bear this constantly in mind in SAWP organs and organizations, and one should make possible a constructive confrontation of various viels [views?] in SAWP tribunes. [passage omitted]

It is our first class patriotic obligation to stand in the way of everything that destroys trust among nationalities and undermines the unity of Yugoslavia as a self-managing community of equal and fraternal peoples and

nationalities. These are primarily various forms of statist divisions, of erecting economic, political, and cultural borders, neglect of workers class and general Yugoslav interests, as well as the politicization of almost all questions, which stimulates suspicion, nervousness, and mutual confrontations which are extensively exploited by the nationalists, the self-styled "protectors" of national interests. [passage omitted]

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26 June 1985

YUGOSLAVIA

## DRAGOSAVAC ON IDENTIFYING ALBANIANS, IRREDENTISTS

AU291930 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 May 85 p 4

[Report by M. P.]

[Excerpts] Karlovac, 23 May--Dr Kusan Dragosavac, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, visited Karlovac today and spoke at the discussion forum of the Center for Ideological and Theoretical Work of the Inter-communal LC Conference to the expanded sociopolitical aktiv of the region about ideological trends in the LC and society.

## Difficulties Are Not an Alibi

Noting that the world today is undergoing a crisis which has a negative impact on our reality, too, Dragosavac said among other things that we have no right to dramatize problems and the situation we are facing because that does not lead to a solution. As a progressive, revolutionary force, the LC must always bear in mind that for it crises are challenges that will make it act more resolutely against negative phenomena. In particular, the LC and its leadership have no right to underestimate negative aspects of the present situation and to adopt a facile attitude toward difficulties. It also has no right to seek an alibi in objective external and internal difficulties. For, if we sought an alibi, Dragosavac said, we would not be able to mobilize the LC for overcoming difficulties; such mobilization is actually a central question today. [passage omitted]

Dragosavac remarked that we are insufficiently aware of a world offensive by the rightists, who are engaging even the church in their service, something that is manifested in our country through attempts by clerical circles to identify the religious with the national. We have to keep in mind, Dragosavac continued, that socialism opens up two parallel processes for all our peoples and nationalities, and these are national affirmation and overcoming national limitedness. [passage omitted]

Speaking about nationalist phenomena which, as he put it, exist everywhere, Dragosavac devoted a part of his speech to the situation in Kosovo.

"Nationalism with our Albanians has deep roots and a particular form of irredentism which we are going to face for a long time. However, I think that there is in our country a special form of anti-Albanian mood which we have not managed to overcome, and this is not good. This means that we have not succeeded in differentiating the people from the irredentists, and that there are communities which identify the two. [passage ommitted]

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YUGOSLAVIA

VOJVODINA OFFICIAL ON 'HOSTILE ACTIVITY', NATIONALISM

LD271328 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1042 GMT  
27 May 85

[Text] Novi Sad, 27 May (TANJUG)--No form of nationalism will be allowed in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, either now or in the future, Petar Palkovljevic, provincial secretary for internal affairs, said in the assembly today.

At the session of all three chambers, which focused on a report on the work of internal affairs' organs in the past year, Palkovljevic pointed out to the delegates that the security situation in the province has recently become more complex and more sensitive. In such conditions there is an increased activity of both external and internal enemies which are taking advantage not only of our difficulties but also of our weaknesses.

Dwelling on the various forms of hostile activity, the provincial secretary for internal affairs proceeded from nationalism as being the joint platform of activity, linking all enemies. He recalled that Vojvodina is a multi-nation province, and "because of this it is particularly sensitive to every form of hostile activity." In recent years the most extreme nationalists have been trying to revive hostile activity by means of spreading ideas on "nationalist oppression," inequality, a so-called inappropriate cadre representation, and hindering the nurture of national characteristics, cultural development and education. Nationalism is considerably encouraged by the reactionary section of the clergy, which is constantly on the offensive.

Precisely because of this we react to all forms in which nationalism is manifested, in keeping with our legislative duties and responsibilities, and at the same time we directly rely on self-protection factors in all the environments and in every concrete situation, Palkovljevic said. He added that possibilities for nationalist activity in the province have been restricted.

The provincial secretary then noted that increasingly open attacks by a so-called bourgeois Right in Yugoslavia as a whole were reflected in a particular way in Vojvodina. At the same time, the activity of the bourgeois Right and of a bureaucratic-dogmatic grouping has been intensified, which

proves that despite the differences in ideological orientations, they have a common characteristic, which is reflected in their lasting irreconcilability with our concept of a political system.

Stressing the increase in the number of more serious attacks on social ownership, Palkovljevic warned that some of these forms of behavior, viewed from a political-security angle, undermine the economic stability of the country and basically represent the betrayal of the interests of the Yugoslav community. All this calls for much more organized action on all the factors of self-protection, focused on preventing all forms of threats to social ownership.

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YUGOSLAVIA

KOSOVO VETERANS GROUP ASSESSES AREA SECURITY

LD302322 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1130 GMT 30 May 85

[Excerpts] Pristina, 30 May (TANJUG)--The Kosovo Federation of the Association of National Liberation War Veterans [SUBNOR] following the counterrevolutionary events and together with all the socialist forces under the leadership of the LC, will continue to carry out intensive activity against nationalist and hostile forces of all kinds in an effort to stabilize the overall situation in the province. War veterans were daily faced with, and continue to be faced with, difficulties in the effort to stabilize the political-security situation, though it is becoming increasingly favorable. The veterans have been involved in numerous other activities in all aspects of life. The Kosovo SUBNOR has been passing these exams with honors, thus making its contributions to all the actions initiated by the LCY.

This is one of the key assessments on the work of the Kosovo SUPNOR made by Mensur Bektisi, president of this organization, at today's electoral meeting of the provincial board.

While making self-critical remarks on the passiveness of one part of the war veterans' organization, Bektisi underlined that in numerous environments, owing to the activity of the veterans and other subjective forces, the enemy, acting from positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism, is receiving blows and losing ground. However, its activities and their consequences are continuing to be felt, precisely where the offensive of the LC and other organized socialist forces is not continuous and on the needed level. The enemy takes advantage of this and strikes, judging that our forces are passive, disorganized and nonmilitant, and feeling that the process of differentiation and identification does not follow the direction we want. Wavering, isolationism and opportunism among communists are creating a great barrier against a resolute ideopolitical battle. [passage omitted]

The president of the Kosovo SUBNOR also dwelled on the weaknesses of this organization. For instance, in some of the books of the series "In the Flame of the Revolution", it was permitted to "write all kinds of things, thus compromising the national liberation war, revolution, and war veterans themselves."

Our weakness lies in the fact that we allowed--despite veterans' warnings that there was something wrong with this series--a number of books from this series to be published, and that until now we did nothing to assess this and take necessary measures. Those who distorted the facts of history must be named and should no longer have the right to write about us and our historic past. Bektesi said, stressing that some historians, though expelled from the LC, continue to write for the needs of official organs and institutions.

Recalling that the publication of the "In the Flame of the Revolution" series was entrusted to the Kosovo Institute of History, he noted that the provincial SUBNOR had been cheated because the infiltration of untruths into the series had been allowed. He added that one had to carry out a comprehensive analysis of this case and put an end to it, and continue with the publication of the series. [passage omitted]

Dwelling on other problems, including the phenomena of Serbian nationalism and the spreading of anti-Albanian sentiments, he said one of the most difficult problems in Kosovo, the Socialist Republic of Serbia, and Yugoslavia is the emigration of the Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo. He spoke in favor of a more energetic elimination of all forms of direct and indirect pressures. He also demanded that the organized return and welcome of those Serbs and Montenegrins who returned to be carried out, as well as concrete measures aimed at motivating expert cadres from other parts of the country to come to Kosovo. The pooling of labor and resources should be followed by the pooling of technology and experts.

Bektesi warned of SUBNOR's insufficient influence on cadre policy. [passage omitted]

The discussion pointed out the need for a consistent struggle against ideological contents and exponents of hostile and nationalist activity, but also against various anomalies in society that go to their advantage and devalue the gains of the revolution and the self-managing system.

Vidna Rakocevic gave as an example the usurpation of mountains and pastures in Pec Municipality by individuals, which has lasted since 1968. She called for a more persevering struggle by veterans against these and similar anomalies and for the disciplining of those who did not apply any sanctions, stressing that justice had been administered too slowly. [passage omitted]

The difficulties encountered in the process of the stabilization of the political-security situation in Kosovo, Ismet Saciri said, will only be surmounted when this problem becomes not only the problem of Kosovo, but also one that concerns all the nations and nationalities and the whole of the country. It is wrong and harmful to think that the situation ought to be settled by the Albanians alone, just because the counterrevolution had been

initiated by enemies among the members of this nation. It should also be the duty of veterans to stand up against such false opinions, Saciri said.  
[passage omitted]

Slobodan Nedeljkovic, member of the Serbian SUBNOR republic board Presidium, spoke in favor of even greater cooperation between the republican and provincial SUBNORS, which was stressed to have been very successful in the past 2 to 3 years.

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